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[ANCIENT PERIOD]

Bhabatosh Bhattacharyya, D Litt

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PREFACE

Just after the completion in 1935 of the editing for the Gaekwad's Oriental Series of the *Rājadharmakaustubha* of Anantadeva, begun but left unfinished by my late father, MM Kamalakṛṣṇa Smṛtitīrtha, I have been contributing for almost three decades papers on Dharmaśāstra to various Oriental Journals of our country Some thirty such papers of mine have already been published or are in the process of publication In the meantime my monograph viz *Raghunandana's Indebtedness to his Predecessors* and my critical edition of the *Dānasāgara* of Ballāla Sena have been published by the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, the former as a reprint of its three issues in the Society's Journal of 1953 and 1954 and the latter as work no 274 of the *Bibliotheca Indica* in 1955 and 1956 respectively But the idea of publishing in book form all my papers, published and unpublished, was suggested to me in the middle of 1962 by my veteran friend and inspirer, MM Dr P V Kane, Bhāratāratna, National Professor of Indology So I set upon myself the task of collecting arranging and rewriting all those papers and completed the work before the end of that year I was then waiting for an oppotunity of having them published in book-form, when at the end of 1963 my friend and colleague Prof Debiprasad Chattopadhyaya told me that he was willing to do so after publishing them in instalments in his Quarterly '*Indian Studies Past & Present*' My present work, which is entitled *Studies in Dharmaśāstra*, is divided into two parts, covering the Ancient and Mediaeval Periods The first part, which is now being presented to the public, consists of four sections and three appendices All but the fourth section on 'The Sacraments' are reprints of my published papers, the fourth section alone being printed for the first time I acknowledge with gratitude my indebtedness to Prof Chattopadyaya for his initiative, co operation and courtesy without which my work would not have seen the light of day with such fineness and promptitude

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City College Calcutta

Bhabatosh Bhattacharyya

STUDIES IN DHARMAŚĀSTRA

I ANCIENT PERIOD

Bhabatosh Bhattacharya

SD, 1

I THE RĀMĀYAṆA

Its influence upon the medieval digests of Eastern India

We propose to investigate here the indebtedness to the *Rāmāyaṇa* of the following nine[1] medieval digests of Eastern India, viz the *Dānasāgara* of Ballala Sena, the *Hāralatā* of Aniruddha, the *Kṛtyaratnākara Gṛhastharatnākara* and *Vivādaratnākara* of Candeśvara, the *Dānakriyākaumudi Śrāddhakriyākaumudi* and *Śuddhikaumudi* of Govindananda and the *Rājadharmakaustabha* of Anantadeva Of the above five digest writers, the first two viz Ballala Sena, the Hindu king of Bengal and Aniruddha, his teacher, who was also a Bengali, belonged to the 12th century, Candeśvara, who was a Maithila, to the 14th century, the Bengali Govindananda to the 16th century, while the Maharāṣṭra scholar, Anantadeva, who composed his work at Benares, belonged to the 17th century We leave the great Bengal digest writer, Raghunandana, of the 16th century, out of consideration here, as we have discussed his utilisation of the *Rāmāyana* in our monograph, viz "*Raghunandana's Indebtedness to his Predecessors* (pp 4-6 and pp 47-48 Published in 1955)

(a) The *Dānasāgara* of Ballāla Sena and the *Hāralatā* of Aniruddha

The *Dānasāgara* names the *Rāmāyana* among its authorities and characterises it as a story (*ākhyāna*)[2] It quotes only four verses from it, of which two only could be identified in the N W recension, the former being also found in the Southern recension The *Hāralatā* quotes from the *Rāmayana* only twice The first quotation, consisting of a single verse, has been traced almost intact in the Bl recension but in highly changed forms in the N W and Southern recensions But four verses only of the second quotation, consisting of five verses, as well as a following *Mahābhārata* quotation with a changed last foot, could be identified in all the versions of the *Rāmāyana* This shows that unlike his patron and disciple king, Ballala Sena, the great Bengali digest-writer, Aniruddha, used the Bengal recension of the *Rāmāyana* for the purpose of quoting from it

(b) The *Ratnākaras* of Candeśvara

The three published *Smṛti-ratnākaras*[3] of Candeśvara, viz the *Kṛtyaratnākara, Gṛhastharatnākara* and *Vivādaratnākara*, contain three quotations only, amounting to

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1 The first work has been edited by the present writer as work no 274 in the *Bibliotheca Indica* in 1956, the next seven by the late MM Kamalakṛṣna Smṛtitirtha in the *same series between 1903 and 1931, while the ninth by the latter with the former's* introduction in the *Gaekwad s Oriental Series*, Vol LXXII, in 1935

2 Vide verse 15, p 3

3 Candeśvara's *Rājaniti ratnākara* on Polity has been edited by the late Dr. K P. Jayaswal in the J B O R S , Patna, Vol X, 1924

four verses in all, from the *Rāmāyana* one quotation in each work Of these three quotations, the one found in the *Kṛtyaratnākara* alone could be traced almost intact in the Bl and Southern recensions but in a slightly changed form in the N W recension The other two citations in the two other works of Candeśvara could be found in no version of the *Rāmāyana*

(c) The *Kaumudīs* of Govindānanda

Of the four published *Kaumudīs* of Govindananda, three only viz the *Dānakriyākaumudī*, *Sraddhakriyākaumudī* and *Śuddhikaumudī* contain quotations from the *Rāmāyana* amounting to fourteen all of which have fortunately been traced in the latter work Of the five quotations in the D K K, the second, the third and the fifth on pages 38 39 and 96 respectively have been found intact in all the versions of the *Rāmāyana*, while the first one on p 4 has been traced in a slightly changed form in the Bl and N W recensions only and the fourth on p 76 in a highly changed form in the Southern recension only Of the five citations in the Śr K K, though the three on pp 340 372 and 384 5 have been traced intact in all the recensions, yet those on pp 12 and 451 2 could be found in slightly changed forms in the same A mutilated line consisting of urabhro vṛsana eva ca' and placed in the beginning of the quotation on p 12, could not, however be traced in the *Rāmāyana* and so its lacunæ could not be filled up from it All the four quotations in the Ś K have been found almost intact in the *Rāmāyana* in all its recensions, the first three on pp 88 124 and 126 being almost continuous verses from the same chapter (II 111 Bl—II 116 N W —II 103 G P) placed in the reverse order The intact occurrence in all the versions of the *Rāmāyana* of as many as ten of the above fourteen *Rāmāyana* quotations by Govindānanda points to no conclusion about his use of any particular recension of the same, as these portions of the epic do not materially differ in the different versions On the contrary, though the existence of a D K K quotation (on p 4) in a slightly changed form in the Bl and N W recensions only may be considered as a proof of Govindānanda s unfamiliarity with the Southern recension yet the finding of another D K K citation (on p 76) in the Southern recension only, though in a highly changed from, points to his familiarity with the same These two conflicting pieces of evidence force upon us the irresistible conclusion that Govindānanda, like his great Bengali junior contemporary, Raghunandana, as pointed out by Dr N M Sen in the case of the latter[4], either consulted all the available recensions of the *Rāmāyana* or was in possession of a mixed version of the same

(d) The *Rājadharmakaustubha* of Anantadeva

Of the four quotations from the *Rāmāyana* in the *Rājadharmakaustubha*, the first consists of two verses and a half, the second of a half verse, the third of four verses and

4 Vide 'A note on "The *Rāmāyana* and its influence upon Ballāla Sena and Raghunandana", *Journal of the Oriental Institute of Baroda*, Vol II (1952 1953), pp 232 235.

the fourth has two groups of verses, numbering twentyseven and five respectively and mutually separated by the word *tathā* (i e in that work), occurring in the beginning of the second group The first quotat on minus the first half verse could be traced in all the recensions, while the second one consisting of a half verse only, could be found in substantially changed forms in all the versions of the *Rāmayana* The R D K reads it as 'janmajyestham priyam putram yauvarajye yadipsatha' and adds below 'iti rāmayane janmajyestha-(tva)syaiva hetutvena kirtanat , the comment of the R D K meaning that the *Rāmāyana* has laid down by the above half verse the right (of succession to the throne) of the prince, born eldest (and not by the eldest queen) But curiously enough, both the Bl and N W. recensions read the above half verse as

'yanme jyestham priyam putram yuvarājam ihecchatha'

and the reading of the Southern recension is almost identical with that of the above two recensions with the simple change of yauvarajyastham icchatha' for 'yuvarājam ihecchatha', the former meaning the same thing as the latter The third quotation has been traced in full in the N W recension only and though the text of the latter reads 'sthira-buddhiśca' and samarthaśca for 'sthiravrttiśca and 'samaptaśca' in verses 2a and 4a respectively of the above quotation yet the above readings of the R D K are recorded as variants in the latter Similarly, the variant 'labdhastrah śabdavedhī ca' for 'labdha-śastrah śabdabhedi in verse 4c, preserved in the R D K , is the reading of the N W. recension The second group of verses in the fourth quotation of the R D K is not only shorter than the first one but also belongs to an earlier chapter of the Ayodhyākānda (chapter V Bl —chapter VI Southern—chapter VIII N W) This group of verses, except the last half verse, is found in all the recensions which contain, however, six cases of readings, different from that of the R D K Five of these are of minor importance, while that relating to the second half of the first verse, being otherwise, requires full description Only the Southern recension reading is wholly similar with the text of the R D K , which is to the following effect

'saha patnya visālaksya narayanam upāgamat'

while both the Bl and N W recensions read it as

saha patnya vivesatha laksmyā narayano yathā'

The first group of verses in the above fourth quotation is the longest collection of *Rāmāyana* verses not only in the R D K but also in the other works, described in the present chapter and in those of Raghunandana, described in our monograph on the same Of the 27 verses, collected in this group and printed as verses 104-130 of the 'abhiseka-prayoga-purānāni' chapter of the 'rajyabhiseka didhiti portion of the R D K , the Bl recension contains verses 119 120 ab, 122-127 ab and 129 cd (7½ verses) only in II 12 3cd, 5-12, the Southern recension has got verses 119 cd 120a, 126b, 127ab and 129cd (2 verses in all) in II 15 5cd 6a, 12b, 12cd and 12cf, while the N W recension has preserved as many as 12 verses (Nos 119 130) in II 16 2cd, 3cd, 4ab and 5 15 Thus we see that the last twelve verses or parts thereof only, and not a single line of the first

fifteen, are to be found in the several recensions of the *Ramāyana* Some portions only of the several different readings of the above twelve verses deserve special treatment from considerations of grammar, metre and sense Those portions are set forth below

(a) The words 'tathābhisecanakam dravyam', as read in the R D K (V 119a), clearly constitutes a hypermetric foot with an ungrammatical word abhisecanakam' and must be 'abhisecanikam dravyam', as read in the Bl and N W recensions

(b) The line 'abrtani ca vāsamsi śrngābhyañca hiranmayam', constituting the latter half of V 121 in the R D K, should be from considerations of sense, 'ahatāni ca vasāmsi bhrngarañca hiranmayam' as read in the N W recension, as both the words *ahrtani* and *śrngābhyañca* are meaningless here

(c) The same reasoning applies to the correction of the following reading in the R D K (v 122b), viz 'paścat phalavimiśritaih', into 'padmotpala vimiśritaih', as read in the Bl version, making it qualify ksiravṛksaprabalaisca', which word precedes it in both the R D K text and Bl recension But the N W recension reads it as 'padmotpalabibhusitah', making it qualify 'ksirivṛksaprabalaśca, which precedes it in this recension It should, however, be noted that the N W recension has *ksira*° and °*vimiśritāh* as variants for *ksiri*° and °*vibhūsitah*

(d) The first half of V 123 of the R D K, viz 'raso gorocana caiva lāja dadhi ghrtam madhu' has been read as 'mamjukārocana etc and as 'rucaka rocanaścaiva ghṛtam madhu payo dadhi *in the N W and Bl recensions respectively*

(e) The word jangamāni', read in v 123d and explained as 'punyapaksinah, (i e holy birds) in the R D K, is read as 'mangalāni' in both the Bl and N W versions

(f) The R D K reads v 126 as

matto gajavaraścaiva aupavāhyah pratiksate/
śvetaśca turagaścaiva rāmārtham upakalpitah//

which is virtually the reading in the N W recension with the simple changes of *rathaścaiva* and *śvetaturangamaścaiva* for *aupavāhyah* and *śvetasca turagaścaiva* respectively The Bl recension reads the above verse as

tathā ca govṛsah śvetah śvetaścāsvah prakalpitah/
matto gajavaraścaiva śrimāmstatropakalpitah//

But curiously enough, the Southern recension, which has the least number of verses in common with this group of quotations from the *Ramāyana*, reads

'prasṛtaśca gajah śrimān *aupavāhyah pratiksate*'

in 12ab, the latter italicised portion being exactly similar to the R D K reading in the corresponding portion The R D K not only reads *aupavāhyah* here but also explains it as *rājavāhyah*, i e a royal conveyance

(g) The N W recension reads *venusca samsiddhaśca* and *ācāryā* for *dhenuśca, samidhaśca* and *amatyāh* in verses 128, 129 and 130 respectively of the R D K The close

verbal correspondence of the *Rāmāyāna* quotations in the R. D K in the majority of cases with the N W. recension of the former clearly indicates that Anantadeva, the author of the latter work, who was a Mahārāstra scholar of Benares domicile,[5] utilized the N W. recension in his *Rājadharmakaustubha*

Vide Appendix (A) for the quotations.

5 Vide the present writer's introduction to the R D K, p VIII

quoted by Sūlapāni in his *Prāyaścittaviveka* (pp 455 6) and he also reproduces the concluding portion of the interpretation of the latter on the same This shows that this shorter *Devalasmrti* of 90 verses is also not a very late work, having been quoted by Śūlapāni of the 14th century

The *Dānasāgara*, which has been published *in full in the meantime and runs up to* 722 pages in the text portion only, contains one more quotation only from Devala (on page 363) over and above the 28 quotations and a big chapter of 36 quotations in the intro ductory portion These 64 quotations fall into seven groups of verses on the following topics viz (1) the eight classes of Brahmanas in the chapter on 'the proper objects of gifts (12 verses on pp 18 19) (2) the nirākrti class of Brahmanas in the chapter on the 'exceptions' (one and a half verses on p 27) (3) the 'nature of gift' in the chapter on the above topic (35 verses and a prose passage on pp 28 31) (4) the 'charitable attitude' in the chapter on the same topic (2 verses on p 33) (5) the several kinds of impotent persons and invalid gifts in the chapter on 'what cannot be gifted away (7 verses on pp 43-44) (6) the things not to be gifted away to a Śudra in the chapter on bad donations' (one verse on p 45) and (7) vows in the chapter on the technical terms of the subject of gifts' (4 isolated verses on pp 58 59) The prose passage, thrust into the third group of quotations at p 29, enumerates the eight incurable or disgusting diseases, arising out of sin The quotation on p 363 consisting of a single verse only, occurs in the chapter on the 'gift of food and advocates the gift of cooked rice to all guests specially the Brāhmanas, after knowing their particular choice of dish by asking them, as this clears away the sins of the giver, i e the host

The *Dānakānda*[9] of the *Krtyakalpataru* of Laksmidhara quotes only the first third and fourth groups of the above *Devalasmrti* verses on pp 30 32 and pp 5 9 respectively and three verses more from the same Smrti on p 20, of which the second, viz 'na śudraya nivedayet is only found on p 46 of the D S (6th group) Though the learned editor, Mr Rangaswami Aiyangar, has appended to the work a lengthy introduction covering 129 pages, yet he has allotted only two thirds of a page to the topic nature of gift,[10] the subject matter of the long Devala verse quotation on pp 5 9 of his above edition and his treatment of the Devala verses[11] themselves is thus very insufficient

9 Vide below in the Medieval period portion, sec I (b) for a critical examination of this *Kānda*

10 Vide the introduction to the present writer's edition of the *Dānasāgara* (pp XXVII XXXI) for an English rendering of the above topic and the topic on the charitable attitude'

11 The D S quotes 35 verses and a prose line on 'the nature of gift' and two verses on 'the charitable attitude, while the D K cites 38 verses in both the topics, combined together omitting the second half of the 34th verse and the prose line of the D S The D K quotes one more verse of Devala in the second topic

(b) *The Yogī-yājñavalkyasmṛti*

This Smṛti is different from the famous *Yājñavalkyasmṛti*, as its very name implies It has been recently (1951) critically edited with a Sanskrit introduction by Swāmī Kuvalayānanda and Pandit Raghunāthaśāstrī Kokaje and published from Lonavla (Poona district) as *Bṛhad yogi yājñavalkya-smṛti* It consists of 12 chapters with verses ranging between 20 and 198 in the several chapters, the total number of verses being 928 It deals with *ācāra*, its seventh chapter being concerned with ceremonial ablutions The printed edition is based on the collation of two MSS, deposited in the libraries of the *Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute of* Poona and *India Office* of London respectively The learned editors have supplemented the text with an appendix, containing a well arranged collection of verses of *Yogi yājñavalkya* (*Yogī yāj*) from several published digests but missing in the two MSS, collated for this edition We propose to investigate here the utilization of the *Yogi yāj* by Ballāla Sena, Caṇḍeśvara and Govindānanda, the first and the third of whom belonged to Bengal and the second to Mithilā, all of them having flourished between the 12th and 16th centuries of the Christian era The great Bengali digest writer, Raghunandana, also belonged to the 16th century But as his utilization of the *Yogī yāj* has already been described by the present writer in his monograph viz *Raghunandana's Indebtedness to his Predecessors* (Asiatic Society, 1955) so the readers are referred to his above mentioned work (pp 17-18, pp 124 127) for the same

(i) Ballāla Sena (1158 1179 A D)

The *Dānasāgara* (D S) and the *Adbhutasāgara* are the two extant works of the Bengal king, Ballala Sena, as mentioned below (vide notes 50, 51 and 128 Medieval Period portion) Of these, the latter contains no quotation whatsoever from the *Yogi yāj*, concerned as it is with *śānti* i e propitiatory rites only But the former contains a fair number of the *Yogi yāj* quotations it also having mentioned both *Yājñavalkya* and *Yogi yājñavalkya* among its authorities on p 3 in its introductory verses 16 and 17 respectively The *Yogi yāj* quotations in the D S concentrate mainly in its chapter on *paribhāṣā* (i e technical terms) included within its introductory portion, while its Chap 43 on *vidyādāna* (i e gift of learning) contains a single quotation of one verse and a half only from the *Yogi yāj* Almost all of the above verses with the solitary exception of that on p 53 of the D S are found in the printed edition of the *Yogi yāj* It may be added here that though the three verses on pp 52, 56 and 57 are prefixed with the word '*Yājñavalkyah*', yet these are really *Yogi yāj* verses The *Brahmacārikāṇḍa* of the *Kṛtyakalpataru* of Lakṣmīdhara (pp 63-64) has ascribed these verses to the *Yogi-yāj* and the present writer has noted this fact in the footnotes of the relevant pages of his edition of the D S, as the *Yogi yāj-smṛti* had up till then not been available to him in printed form The first two *Yogī yāj* verses (on pp 52 and 53) in the D S relate to moral conduct and mode of wearing clothes respectively at the time of religious observances and the last one and a half verses (on p 491 in the chap of gift of learning) define seven books of the *siddhānta*

class, while those on pp 55, 56 57 and 63 are concerned with the importance of *vidhi* (i e due formality) and *śraddhā* (i e faith in religious actions) and the procedure of *japa* (i e inaudible muttering of mantras as a mode of worship)

(2) Caṇḍeśvara (1310-1360 A D)

Of the seven *Smṛti ratnākaras* of this Maithila digest writer, the following three, viz *Kṛtyaratnākara Gṛhastha*° and *Vivāda*° have been published[15], while the following two viz *Śuddhi*° and *Dāna*° exist in MSS [16] only The first two of the published works and the unpublished *Dāna*° only contain quotations from the *Yogi yāj*

(a) *Kṛtyaratnākara* (K R)

Though the K R mentions on p 30[17] in the sub-chapter on *pramāṇa* (i e sources) in the chapter on *dharmanirūpaṇa* (i e determination of dharma) the work *Yogi yāj* as one of the reputed sources of dharma to be followed on appropriate occasions, yet its five groups of quotations from the same (on pp 46, 47, 49 50, 51 and 63 64), amounting to 16 verses only, are identical with the first five among the six groups of *Yogi yāj* quotations in the D S, which latter work is also explicitly mentioned on p 51 of the K R in the phrase '*iti sāgarah*' (i e as quoted from the *Sāgara*, an obvious abbreviation of the D S), added after the *Yogi yāj* quotation This clearly shows that the K R quotations are second hand ones being from the D S and not from the *Yogi yaj* itself Four of the above five groups of quotations, i e almost all except that on p 47, the last three verses on pp 49 50 and two out of seven verses on pp 63 64, are found in the *Yogi yāj*

(b) *Gṛhastharatnākara* (Gṛ R)

The Gṛ R quotes the *Yogi yaj* not less than 30 times in its chapters on *prātah snāna, kriyā snāna, sandhyopāsana, japa* and *tarpana* (pp 191 268) Most of these quotations, which are big ones, ranging between 17 and 45 lines, are found with the occasional different readings in the printed *Yogi yāj* (chaps 1, 4 and 6 8) A big quotation of 25 lines on pp 243-44 is partly the same as the two verses of the quotation of five verses on pp 49 50 and as the three verses of that of seven ones on pp 63 64 of the K R The latter half of another big quotation of 17 lines on pp 241-42 is the same as the remaining four verses on the last-mentioned pages of the K R The first of the three unidentified verses out of five in the quotation on p 219 is the same as the third one on pp 49 50 of the K R

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15 Edited by the late MM Kamalakṛṣṇa Smṛtitīrtha in the B I, 1925 1931

16 Asiatic Society MS (No 3826 of the Govt of India Collection) and Poona Deccan College MS No 114 of 1884 5) respectively

17 vṛddhaśātātapa - vṛddhamanu - *yogiyājñavalkya* vṛddhavasiṣtha laghuhārītādini tu prasiddhāntargatānyevāvasthābhedena taireva karaṇāt

(3) Govindānanda (1510-1540 A D)

Of the four published works of this author, (vide above) the following two only, viz the *Varsakriyākaumudī* (V K K) and the *Śuddhikaumudī* (Ś K), quote the *Yogi yāj* twice, once in each case The V K K quotation on p 503, consisting of a half verse only is the same as the second quotation on p 263 of the Gr R and the Ś K citation on p 298, consisting of a single verse only, is also identical with the second one on p 217 of the Gr R Both the quotations are found in the 7th chap of the *Yogi yāj* (vv 87b and 154) It may be stated in conclusion that this *Yogi yājñavalkyasmṛti* is entirely different from the *Yoga-yājñavalkya*, a work on *Yoga*, a critical edition of which has recently been published by Mr P C Divanji as supplements to the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* (vols XXVIII XXIX) and then in book-from in 1954 The attention of readers is also referred to his paper viz *Bṛhd yogi yājñavalkya smṛti* and the *Yoga yājñavalkya* (ABORI, Vol XXXIV 1953, pp 1 29)

Vide Appendix (B) for the quotations

(c) The *Agastyasamhitā*

MM Dr P V Kane writes on p 507 of his *History of Dharmaśāstra Vol 1*, "Agastya or Agastisamhitā mentioned in *Kalaviveka* of Jimutavahana, in Apararka But no work has been published under the title of Agastya or Agastisamhitā and Dr Kane has given us no clue of any MS of the same One Agastyasamhita has been edited[18] in 1910 with a Bengali translation by the late MM Kamalakṛsna Smṛtitirtha and published in Bengali characters[19] from the Hitavadi office of Calcutta It does not however contain the quotations of Agastya in the *Kālaviveka* (p 277) and *Aparārka* (p 1070) The very verses, ascribed to Agastya by *Aparārka*, are ascribed by Sulapāni to Pulastya in his *Prāyaścittaviveka* So it is very likely that paleograph cal similarity of the words Agastya and Pulastya in Devanagari script might have occasioned a copyist s error in *Apararka* I have not succeeded in finding out why Dr Kane has mentioned the alternative title Agastisamhitā in his above short note on Agastya

18 On the basis of four MSS, one obtained from the Asiatic Society (Calcutta), another from the Calcutta Sanskrit College and two others from private libraries of Bhātparā in West Bengal

19 Though Dr Kane has included in anticipation in the preface to the third Vol of his History the name of the *Agastyasamhitā* along with eleven other dharmaśāstra works, edited by the late MM Smṛtitirtha as being of great use to him in writing all the volumes of his History, yet he has utilised quotations from it, preserved in later digests and not the printed work itself in the *vrata* section of his *History of Dharmaśāstra* (Vol V, part I) for the simple reason that the work was published in Bengali characters and not in Devanāgarī

The printed *Agastyasamhitā* which calls itself 'paramarahasya' (i e 'great mystery') in the colophons of its chapters, is, however, an authoritative treatise in continuous *anustubh* metre and partakes of the character of Dharmaśāstra, being composed not later than 1270 A D , having been quoted by Hemādri in his *Caturvargacintāmanī* (vrata, I, pp 942 6) It has also been profusely quoted by Govindananda and Raghunandana, the 16th century *nibandhakāras* of Bengal The former quotes it in his *Varsakriyākaumudī* and *Śuddhikaumudī*, while the later quotes it in his Tithitattva, Āhnika°, Malamāsa°, Ekādaśī°, Krtya° and Dīksā° All the above quotations are found in the printed *Agastyasamhitā* which consists of 32 chapters, the verses in each chapter ranging between thirty and sixty The work embodies a supposed dialogue between Sutīksna and Agastya, the latter having gone to the hermitage of the former on the Gautamī river in the Dandaka forest The conversation which ranges over topics of ritual and philosophical interest, is carried on between the above two sages, Sutīksna putting and Agastya answering the the questions

So a description of the topics, which are dealt with in the several chapters of the *Agastyasamhitā*, will not be out of place here

Chap	1	Dialogue between Śiva and Pārvatī
„	2	Determination of the knowledge of the Supreme Being
„	3	Description of the Rāma incarnation
„	4-5.	„ „ „ hymns and prayers of Rāma
„	6	„ „ „ sacred character of the *tulasī* (i e basil) plant
„	7	„ „ „ greatness of the sublime six-syllable mantra viz. *'om namo rāmāya'*.
„	8	„ „ „ teachers of that mantra
„	9	Determination of the mantras
„	10-25	Detailed rites in connection with the worship of Rāma.
„	26 29	Rites in connection with the *Rāmanavamī* festival
„	30-31	„ „ „ Lakṣmana mantra
„	32	„ „ „ Hanuman mantra

The quotations from the *Agastyasamhitā* in the various works of Govindānanda and Raghunandana are from the following chapters only, viz 6th, 10th-13th, 16th 18th, 20th, 26th 28th and 32nd The quotations from each of the 16th, 18th, 20th, 27th and 32nd chapters consist of two or three verses, while those from the rest cover almost the entire chapters The lengthy quotations are concerning the worship of Rāma and the *Rāmanavamī* festival and so we propose to give here a brief description of the latter, as contained principally in the 28th chapter of the work, inasmuch as the Bengal *nibandhakāras*, Govindānanda and Raghunandana, have laid down their prescriptions regarding this festival on the sole authority of the *Agastyasamhitā*

'Rāma, who is but an incarnation of the God Hari, was born in the ninth *tithi* of the bright half of the month of *Caitra* If in any year that *tithi* coincides with the asterism

of *punarvasu*, it becomes highly auspicious and confers immense good on the worshipper If the coincidence of the asterism with the *tithi* occurs in the midday, the festival is then of the holiest character possible The period of duration of the *Rāmanavamī* festival is more sacred than that of ten millions of solar eclipses The Supreme Being partially manifested Himself as Rāma in the womb of Kauśalyā, when the sun had gone to the Aries and the *lagna* was *karkata* The rites, performed on the anniversary of that day in honour of the God Rāma, conduce to the salvation of the performer Persons, wishing to attain the neighbourhood of the Supreme Being, should fast and offer oblations to the Fathers on that day and abstain from sleep in the night following it The fool, who eats on that day, surely suffers in the horrible *Kumbhīpāka* hell All persons should shower on this day bounties on the deserving according to their circumstances, and charities, however small, if made on that day, will have the spiritual effect of great ones, like the *tulāpurusa* (i e the great gift of weighing one s own body against gold or other precious metals) The simple performance of the *Rāmanavamī* festival confers on the performer the spiritual benefit, resulting from the repeated munificence on solar eclipse days in the holy spot of Kuruksetra The ninth *tithi*, if beginning from the middle of a day, will be discarded by the devotees of the God Visnu, who will fast on the following day and break their fasts on the next following day They will then entertain out of devotion Brāhmanas with various kinds of food and honour them with *daksinā* and thus become themselves fulfillers of their own resolve and Rāma will be propitiated instantaneously They will then worship Kauśalya and Daśaratha, Rāma's mother and father and other members of the family of Rāma after securing His permission

'The God Rāma will be meditated upon as possessing tender limbs and large eyes and Himself shining like blue lotuses, and Daśaratha as busy in taking hold of his son in the right side, while the God Laksmana with golden lustre and carrying an umbrella should be standing in the back, both Bharata and Śatrughna, with fans of palmyra-leaves in hand, being on both sides, and the busy Hanumat, seeking the favour of Rāma, standing in front

'Rāma, who is none other than the God Hari, was born to put the ten mouthed (i e Rāvana) to death and to re-establish *dharma* by destroying the demons and the *daityas* and thus saving the good persons Please take along with your three brothers this *arghya* (offering out of respect), given by me' After uttering the above mantra the devotee should worship Him devoutly and in accordance with proper procedure by offering Him handfuls of flowers after the lapse of every three hours and thus pass the day and night without taking rest

Vide the present writer's monograph viz '*Raghunandana's indebtedness to his predecessors* (pp 18 20 and pp 127 8) for further details of Raghunandana's utilization of the *Agastyasamhitā*

III The Purānas

(a) The Matsyapurāna

The *Matsyapurāna* (chap 290, vv. 2 8, 9b-12, 18-19) is concerned with the peculiar gift of 30 kinds of *kalpas*, made of gold The *Dānasāgara* of Ballāla Sena has utilized it solely in its chapter 44 which is hence called *kalpadānāvarta* (i e the *āvarta* or chapter on the gift of *kalpas*) and cover three pages only, 492 to 494 The nature and procedure of this gift are being discussed here, as they have been inadvertently left out by the present writer in the introduction to his edition of the latter work

'I shall now describe the gift of *kalpas*, which not only destroys all kinds of sin but the recital of which also endows the reciter with the religious merit, resulting from the chanting of the Vedas The first *kalpa* is the *Śveta* (i e white), the second one is the *Nīlalohita* (i e partly blue and partly red, meaning 'Śiva'), the third one is *Vāmadeva* (a name of Śiva), the fourth *Rāthantara*, the fifth *Raurava* (the name of Śiva's hell), the sixth *Prāna* (i e life), the seventh *Brhatkalpa* (i e the Great *kalpa*), the eighth *kandarpa* (i e the God of Love) the ninth *Sadyah* (i e fresh), the tenth *Īśāna* (i e Śiva), the eleventh *Tamas* (i e darkness), the twelfth *Sarasvata* (i e pertaining to Sarasvati, the Goddess of Learning), the thirteenth *Udana*, the fourteenth *Gāruda* (i e pertaining to Garuda, the carrier bird of Visnu), the fiteenth *Kaurma* (i e pertaining to *kūrma*, meaning 'tortoise', the second incarnation of Visnu, which was born on a full moon day), the sixteenth *Nārasimha* (i e pertaining to *Narasimha*, i e half man, half-lion, the fourth incarnation of Visnu), the seventeenth *Vāmana* (i e dwarf, the fifth incarnation of Visnu), the eighteenth *Āgneya* (i e pertaining to *Agni* or fire), the nineteenth *Soma* (i e. the moon), the twentieth *Mānava* (i e man), the twenty-first *Pumas* (i e male human being), the twenty second *Vaikuntha* (the abode of Visnu), the twenty third *Laksmi* (the wife of Visnu), the twenty-fourth *Sāvitri* (the wife of Brahman), the twenty fifth *Ghora* (i e terrible), the twenty-sixth *Vārāha* (i e partaining to *Varāha*, meaning 'boar', the third incarnation of Visnu), the twenty seventh *Vairāja* (i e partaining to *Virāj*, the universe), the twenty eighth *Gauri* (the wife of Śiva), the twenty ninth *Māheśvara* (i e pertaining the *Maheśvara* i e Śiva, the great God, when he killed the demon Tripura) and the thirtieth *kalpa* is *Pitr*, (i e the Fathers), which is called *kuhū* (or the new moon day, in which no moon is visible in the day time) These thirty *kalpas*, collectively known as the month of Brahman, clear away all the sins of the donor and have been formally named by Him after their respective attributes He, who gives away the golden images of these *kalpas* in auspicious days, is honoured in the heavenly abodes of Brahman and Visnu by the sages for *kalpas* (i e cycles

of existence) As the gift of *kalpas* causes the vanishing away of all sins, so an intelligent man should have them constructed in the shape of sages and they give them away' The visible connection between the Fathers and the new-moon day seems to be that pārvana and deferred śrāddhas of the Fathers are performed on that day

The *Dānasāgara* adds in the just following prose comment that the donor should first make thirty *kalpas* in the form of Brāhmana sages, supposing them to have assumed the appearance of golden images, with the rosary in the right hand and the water bowl in the left worship them and then make gifts of them in their serial order on the full moon day, the new moon day, the two eighth *tithis*, the two fourteenth *tithis* and on the *sankrānti* day to the Brāhmana, who has ceremonially purified himself and has been duly honoured by the donor

It may be added here that the v 8a of the *Matsyapurāna* quotation, corresponding to v 9a of chapter 290 of the same is wanting in the *Dānasāgara*, presumably owing to its utilisation of a defective *Matsyapurāna* MS and is to the following effect —

'*Caturvimśatimah proktah sāvitrikalpasamjñakah*', i e the twenty fourth *kalpa* is said to be named as *Sāvitrī* So Ballala Sena being at a loss to find out the name of the twenty fourth *kalpa*, thought *Laksmī* really the twenty third *kalpa*, to be the twenty fourth and suggested that the formula of giving away the twenty-third *kalpa*, after the gift of *Vaikuntha*, should contain the serial number only of the twenty third one

(b) The Visnudharmottarapurāna

Unlike the *Matsyapurāna*, referred to above, which is a Mahāpurāna, the *Visnu dharmottara* (*—purāna*) is an Upapurāna We propose to discuss here its dharmaśāstra contents only Only two scholars, MM Dr P V Kane and Dr R C Hazra have utilized the above dharmaśastra contents in their respective works, viz *History of Dharmasāstra* (vols I—III) and *Studies in Puranic records on Hindu rites and customs* The former scholar is also the first and only one to study the poetics and dramaturgy contents of the *Visnudharmottarapurāna* (V D) systematically in his *History of Sanskrit poetics* Dr Kane says on pp 161—162 in sec 33 of the 1st vol of his former work, 'Visnudharmottara (Venkateśvara Press) in the 2nd khanda contains several chapters dealing with matters of dharma, e g chap 24 gives the qualifications of state officers, chap 65—72 speak of rājadharma, expedients of policy punishments, 73—74 deal with prāyaś cittas 75 with impurity on death and birth, 79 with purification of dravyas, 80—81 with the four varnas and mixed castes 60 (61?) with various purely legal matters' He further says in the same vol on p 194 in sec 35 'The Viṣnudharmottara which is frequenly quoted by Aparārka and other later works cites verses that are borrowed from Parāśara For example, chap 75 1 (II 76 2 ?) of the former is the same as a verse of Parāśara' The same scholar has utilized the V D in the 2nd vol of his above work in eight places, of which three (on pp 713, 715n and 725) contain direct quotations or references, while the remaining five (on pp 112*n*, 266*n*, 842, 855 and 858-9) deal with quotations from the V D in mediaeval digests The direct references are to III 44 ff (on the characteristics

of the images of gods and goddesses), III 46 3 (on image worship) and III 48 1 (on Śiva being spoken as pañcatunda) The utilization of the V D in the 3rd vol by the same scholar is for 41 times, of which 39 times (38 times of the 2nd khanda and once of the 1st khanda) are in the Rājadharma portion only once (3rd khanda) in the Vyavahara portion and also only once (1st khanda) in the Sadacara portion Though the V D is a voluminous work, divided into three khandas, and covers 942 pages, yet several chapters of its 3rd khanda only contain about 1000 verses and prose-matter, covering four printed pages, on topics of poetics and dramaturgy, while its dharmaśāstra contents are scattered throughout the whole work, as is apparent from the above description and utilization of the same by Dr Kane in his *History of Dharmaśastra* (vols I III) and from the same treatment, accorded to it by Dr Harza in his *Studies in Puranic records etc* (to be detailed below) The inclusion of poetics and dramaturgy matter in the V D has, therefore, induced Dr Kane to assign a full section (no 6 in part I), consisting of 6 pages (pp 64 70), in his *History of Sanskrit Poetics*, two of which are devoted to the identification of the V D quotations in the *Hāralata* (one only of three such) of Aniruddha Bhatta, the *Dānasāgara* of Ballāla Sena and the *Caturvarga cintāmani* (*vratakhanda*) of Hemadri, for fixing from dharmaśāstra sources the lower limit of the date of composition of the V D, viz 1100 A D As the first andthird of the above three works have been published in the B I and the second was being published by the present writer in the same series at the time of the publication of Dr Kane s above work (1951), so he was able to consult the printed editions of the former only but had to rely upon the identification by the present writer from his press copy of four sample groups of verses, among numerous such,[20] in the latter i e the *Dānasāgara*, quoted from the V D

Though Dr Hazra has utilized the V D on eight pages of his work viz *Studies in Puranic records etc*, yet his treatment of the former is only casual and not systematic, as his main thesis is for fixing the chronology and discussing the contents of the eighteen Mahāpurāṇas and the V D falls within the category of the Upapurānas He says on p 151, 'It is not that the early Nibandha writers did not believe in the authoritativeness of the Upapurānas The numerous verses quoted by them from a good number of such works, show that they gave almost the same importance to the Upapurānas and the Mahāpurānas as sources as Dharma' He then appends in the footnote a long list of the former class of works, quoted by the Nibandha writets, and includes the V D within it Dr Hazra also takes notice of the fact of common contents of the V D and other Purānas or Dharmaśāstra works in the following general statement on p 21 (n), 'In numerous cases the individual Purānas are found to contain chapters or verses common to two or more of them, or to have retained extracts or isolated verses from their older prototypes or other Sanskrit works In the Nibandhas also there are numerous extracts or verses which have been quoted with the mention of the names of two or more Puranic or non-Puranic

20 Vide the present writer s edition of the *Dānasāgara* for the quotations from the V.D, which occur in almost every chapter of the former.

works as common sources' He then adduces just below on the same page several examples from the *Caturvargacintāmani*, vol III (Pariśesakhanda), Part I, two of which (on pp 1079 and 1095) relate to the above phenomenon in relation to the V D He then proves on pp 43 and 44 the fact of borrowing by the V D from the *Matsyapurāna* on the strength of several grounds and ascribes the similarity of contents of the V D, I 146 41b to the end and I 148 154 (verses 1 7) and the Mat 207 (verse 24b to the end) and 115 120 respectively to the above borrowing To draw attention of the scholars to the confusion between the *Mārkandeya Purāna* and the sage Mārkandeya, the speaker in the V D, he says on p 266 [n[3]] that 'the fact that in the majority of cases, the verses ascribed to Mārkandeya, are not found in the Mārkandeya Purāna but in the V D, proves that the word 'Mārkandeya', prefixed to those, verses, refers to the speaker Mārkandeya in the V D and not to the Purāna of that name He then adds just below, 'In those cases, in which the verses ascribed to Mārkandeya, are not found in the V D the changes in the text of the latter are to be held responsible' The utilization of the V D by the same scholar on p 55 of his above work consists of a single sentence only, viz 'for instance, Vām [i e Vāmanapurāna] 85 and V D I 194 deal with 'gajendra-moksana', while he has on pp 250 and 258 translated into English the V D [II 32 2b 3] and [II 32 25b ff] to expose the fallacies of the injunction of making gifts to the Brāhmanas and of the omnipotence, ascribed to them, in the above two extracts respectively

We shall now attempt to supplement the above dharmaśāstra information, supplied by Drs Kane and Hazra in the above three works and, therefore to investigate the indebtedness to the V D of the following six digest writers of Bengal, Mithilā and Mahārāstra, viz Aniruddha, Ballāla Sena Candeśvara, Govindānanda, Raghunandana and Anantadeva, who flourished between the 12th and 17th centuries of the Christian era

(1) Aniruddha Bhatta [1150-1175 A D]

Of the two extant and published works of Aniruddha Bhatta, viz the *Hāralatā* and *Pitrdayitā*, the V D is quoted in the former only in three groups of verses on pp 19 and 29 [2 groups] But the index to the printed edition of the *Hāralatā* contains page and line references to two of them only, ignoring the third group on p 29 and Dr Kane says on p 67 of his *History of Sanskrit Poetics* that the Hāralatā of Aniruddha quotes a verse from it [i e V D] which is found in the V D, I 142 16 17' The second group of quotations consists of 5 lines, of which the last two are found in V D, II 52 56 while the third group, consisting of one verse only, is identical with V D, II 52 57

(2) Ballāla Sena (1158 1179 A D)

The two extant and published works of Ballala Sena are the *Adbhutasāgara* and *Dānasāgara* The *Adbhutasāgara* quotes numerous verses and prose extracts of the V. D, some of which are found in II 134 and II 136 of the latter, which chapters deal specifically with portents The *Danasagara* also quotes a good deal of verses of the same work but from its third khanda only, the following chapters, which are concerned with *dāna* only, being fully or partly drawn upon — 287 88, 290-91, 297-303, 305 317, 319 and 341 Of

these the chaps 307-309 have been quoted in full, while the chaps. 299, 300, 302, 305-6, 310-12, 317 and 341 have been quoted almost in full Ballāla Sena mentions another work of the name of *Viṣṇudharma* among his authorities in the *Dānasāgara* (introductory verse 15) and quotes verses from the former in the latter but none of these verses, being apparently from a different work, is traceable in the V D The V. D is mentioned among the authorities in the *Dānasāgara* in introductory verse 14

(3) Caṇḍeśvara (1310-1360 A D)

Of the four published works of Caṇḍeśvara, viz *Rājanītiratnākara*, *Kṛtya*°, *Gṛhastha*° and *Vivāda*°, the V D has been quoted in the K R only The identified collections of quotations, which are 37 in number, are mostly from III 309, 317, 319 and 341, the last identified collection of quotations only amounting to 69 verses and covering 12 pages The three quotations from the *Viṣṇudharma* in the K R, like the similar ones in the D S, cannot be traced in the V D

(4) Govindānanda (1520-1550 A D)

The four published works of Govindānanda, viz. *Varṣakriyākaumudī*, *Dāna*°, *Śrāddha*° and *Śuddhikaumudī*, have also extensively utilized the V D The identified quotations from the V D in the first work are 15, of which 10 are from the first khanda (chaps 60, 72 and 142) one is from the second khanda (chap 52) and the remaining four are from the third khanda (chaps 317 and 319) The traced quotations in the second work are 13 in number, of which 12 are from the third khaṇḍa (chaps 301, 305, 311-13 and 316) and only one is from the first khaṇḍa (chap 147) Of the 13 identified quotations in the third work, 12 are from the first khaṇḍa (one from chap 60, two others from chap 72 and the remaining 9 from chap 142) and only one is from II 77. Of the 11 quotations in the fourth work, as many as 10 could be identified, 7 being from the first khaṇḍa (chaps. 72 and 142) and the remaining three from II 77 Unlike the quotations from the *Viṣṇudharma* by Ballāla Sena, Caṇḍeśvara and Raghunandana (to be described below) Govindānanda's quotations from the above work are in most cases really from the V D and not from the *Viṣṇudharma*—a fact which is due either to our author's confusion between the two works or to errors of the copyists of the MSS of his works.

(5) Raghunandana (1530-1570 A D)

one are from chaps 301, 316, 317, 319 and 341 only Six only of the above numerous quotations (3 from I, 1 from II and 2 from III) contain the specific number of the khanda of the V D, which Raghunandana invariably calls *kānda* and of these six the only quotation from the V D (II. 95 28 29) in the *Devapratisthātattva* (p 512) is prefixed with a wrong numbering of the khanda of the former, as is evident from the phrase viz '*Visnu dharmottare prathama* (i e first) *Kāndam*' The quotations from the *Visnudharma* in the *Smrtitattva* are not found in the V D

(6) Anantadeva (1650-1680)

The present writer, who completed in 1935 the editing of and appended an English introduction to the *Rājadharmakaustubha* of Anantadeva after the death of his father, the late MM Kamalakṛsna Smṛtitirtha, in 1934, said on p VIII of the above introduction, 'The works, which it (i e the *Rājadharmakaustubha*) immensely draws upon, sometimes *quoting entire chapters, are the Matsyapurāna, the Bṛhat samhitā and the Visnudharmottara*'. He did not at that time identify the quotations from the latter works in the R D K but his above remark about the V D is now fully borne out by the fact that all of the 14 identified big extracts, out of the 16 quoted ones from the V D *in the* R D K, cover the entire or almost entire chapters, viz 3 7, 14, 18 23, 26, 150 and 162 and three verses of chap 152, all of the 2nd khanda

Before concluding the treatment of the present Upapurāna, we wish to make several remarks on the text of the present edition of the V D First, the V D contains many verses, similar to those of the *Manusmrti* and *Mahābhārata* also and not only to those of the *Parāśara smrti*, as pointed out by Dr Kane (vide above) and so the following statement of Dr Hazra (vide above for the full statement) is perfectly justified, viz 'In numerous cases the individual Purānas are found to have retained extracts or isolated verses from other Sanskrit works' We do not propose to attempt here an identification of the verses of the V D with those of the *Manusmrti* and *Mahābhārata*, as that will be a big study in itself Secondly, the later digest writers such as Govindānanda and Raghunandana often quote from almost all the Smrtis and Purānas, both extant and extinct, not primarily from the above works themselves but secondarily from the earlier digest writers, quoting from the same, due to the supposed tampered character of the texts of the extant works and the utter loss of the extinct ones But they never adopt this perverse procedure, while quoting from the *Manusmṛti*, *Yājñavalkyasmrti*, *Rāmāyana* and *Mahābharata* as the texts of these latter have neither been lost nor were ever supposed to have been tampered with But the V D, though less authoritative than the above four works of the topmost rank, being itself an Upapurana, has also shared their good fortune and it is interesting to find it quoted primarily not only in the earlier but also in the later digests —a fact which proves the untampered character of its text throughout the last millennium Thirdly, in view of the profuse identified quotations from the varied dharmaśāstra portion of the V D by the above six digest writers in their 25 works and probably similar ones by other digest writers in their respective works, it is now possible to reconstruct the text

of the V D, the only printed edition[21] of which abounds with omissions, misprints and misreadings

Vide appendix (c) for the quotations from the works of all the digest writers, mentioned above, except Raghunandana, for quotations from whom, vide the present writer's monograph viz '*Raghunandana's indebtedness to his predecessors*' (pp 141 154) The *Vāstuyāga tattva* of Raghunandana also contains two quotations from the V D but they could not be identified in the printed edition of the latter

Vide also Dr Hazra s critical paper viz 'The Visnudharmmottara an Encyclopædic work of the Gupta Period', *Journal of the University of Gauhati*, Vol III 1952 (pp 39 64) But Dr Hazra does not discuss the utilization of the V D in mediæval digests in that paper

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21 Published by the Venkateśvara Press, Bombay, śaka 1834, i e 1912 13 A D Dr Priyabala Shah has recently critically edited khanda III (chapters I 118) only of the V D and published them in two parts (Part I Text and Part II Introdnction, indexes etc) in the *Gaekwad s Oriental Series* But I do not know whether she has followed my sugges tions in JBBRAS, Vol XXVIII, pt I pp 6 18

IV. The Sacraments

(a) Preliminary remarks

Before proceeding to describe the main outlines of the vast subject of Hindu sacraments, the present writer begs the indulgence of the readers to make a few preliminary remarks It was the famous German scholar, the late Dr Julius Jolly, the author of the Tagore Law Lectures (1883) on the *History of Hindu Law of Partition, Adoption and Inheritence*, who published in 1898 a German work entitled *'Recht und Sitte'*[22], containing a full description of Hindu Law and Custom, including the sacraments The late Dr. *Batakrishna Ghosh translated in 1928 the above German work into English* under the tittle 'Hindu Law and Custom'[23] MM Dr P V Kane utilized the German original in the 1st Vol[24] of his *History of Dharmaśāstra* and the English translation in the subsequent volumes[25] of his above work. Though the late Dr Ghosh thus facilitated the work of Dr Kane by the timely publication of his English version of Dr Jolly's famous work, yet he did not himself bestow any fair amount of attention upon the subject of Dharmaśāstra (i e Hindu Law and Custom) The latest paper from his pen, bearing on the above subject, is 'Hindu Ideal of Life'[26] It is, however, a distorted interpretation of the Hindu view of life Though Dr Kane has refuted in his 1st Vol[27] some of the views of Dr Ghosh, published in his earlier papers, yet the former was not in a position to contradict the opinions of the latter, as expounded in the above latest paper, which was published a year after the *second volume of the former* Dr Ghosh has made the *Brāhmanas and* the Hindu civilisation targets of his attack times without number, without careing to weigh the problems with a good balance of mind and after a consultation of the published authorities on the same This reminds us of the late Dr Edward Thompson, a critic of Rabindranath Tagore's works, writing a monograph on 'The Suttee a historical and philosophical enquiry into the Hindu rite of widow burning'[28] and heaping in this latter work abuses on the Hindus in general and on the great Bengal digest-writer, Raghunandana, in

22. Published in the German Grundriss
23. „ by the Greater India Society of Calcutta
24. „ by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Society, Poona (1930)
25. „ by the same (vols II-V part I), 1941-58
26. „ in the 'Indian Culture', Vol VIII, Nos 2 & 3 (1942), pp 219-234
27. Additions and Corrections, p V
28. Published in 1928

particular but being blissfully ignorant of what Rabindranath himself has said about the Suttee in his Bengali essay, viz. *'mābhaih'*,[29] published some thirty years before Thompson's *work on the same*

The following sentences among others will give the readers an idea of the trend of Dr Ghosh's thoughts in his above mentioned paper

1 They (i e the Gṛhya and the Śrauta Sūtras) offer us a pathetic picture of Brahmanism on the defensive In this crisis, prompted by the *instinct* for self preservation, and therefore not fully conscious of what they were doing, the Brahmins elaborated the strange sacrificial ritual by means of which—so they persuaded themselves and the people to believe—they could coerce even the gods [p 219]

2 Armed with this sacrificial ritual, which they jealously guarded as a guild secret, the Brahmins succeeded in *reconquering their slipping power for the time being*, but they forthwith began to abuse it Thus in the Taittirīya Samhitā 2. 5 11 9 it was calmly laid down by them that in every law suit the judgment should be given in favour of the *Brahmin* [p 219]

3 At this juncture (i e. when the Ksatriyas seriously challenged the exclusive right of the Brahmins to supreme knowledge) the Brahmanical priestly guilds hit upon the idea of formulating as tersely and precisely as possible their ideals of religion and society and *thus created the vast Sūtra literature* [p 220]

4 The Gṛhyasutras are meant for the guidance of pious and superstitious villagers (*snātakas*), striving more for religious merit than material advantage [p 221]

5 The life depicted in the Gṛhyasutras is magic-ridden From conception to till after death the whole period is punctuated by magical ceremonies [p 223]

6 *From anthropological point of view it (i e upanayana) should be regarded as* one of those precious relics of a primitive society, divided into age-groups, surviving into a wholly transformed society, consisting of family groups Even now there are primitive societies without effective *family ties in which young men at a certain age leave their* families and combine into close groups to practise religious cults, sometimes utterly immoral [p 227]

7 The infinite details of the marriage-ritual are of great interest for anthropology *but too trivial to deserve specific* mention in connection with social history [p 230]

Strangely in contrast with the above uncharitable remarks is the following eulogy of Dr Ghosh for the five daily sacrifices (pañca-mahāyajñas) —

*The theory of these five daily sacrifices is the cornerstone of orthodox Hindu socio*logy, even granting—what is obvious—that all of them could never have been duly performed by all the householders even in normal times It is by no means an upstart invention of Sutra writers *for the Pañca mahāyajñas are mentioned already in the Śatapatha* Brāhmana XI 5 6 1 ff [p 231]

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29 Incorporated in his *'Vicitra Prabandha'*

We offer here our refutations of the above charges, levelled by Dr Ghosh against Brahmanism, as depicted in the Gṛhya- and the Śrautasūtras

(1) The first charge that 'they (i e the Gṛhya- and the Śrautasūtras) offer us a pathetic picture of Brahmanism on the defensive gods' is untenable, as the elaborate description of the domestic and sacrificial ritual does *never* mean that the Brāhmana authors of those works prescribed them, prompted by the *instinct* for self preservation and there is nothing absurd in the idea that 'by means of which (i e the strange sacrificial ritual)—so they persuaded themselves and the people to believe—they could coerce even the gods', inasmuch as every religion prescribes certain forms of invocation of the unseen powers that be and the promulgators or propagators of every religion persuade themselves and the people to believe that by means of those peculiar forms of invocation they can move those powers, call them gods if you will

(2) The second charge that 'Thus in the Taittiriya-samhitā Brahmin' is also wholly unfounded, as Dr Ghosh has completely misunderstood the above T S passage, which means 'If a Brahmana and a non Brāhmana come (to a man), asking him a question, then *he should speak to the Brāhmana first, that he speaks to the Brāhmana first is really tanta*mount to speaking first to oneself, when he speaks away from the Brāhmana, that is really speaking away *to* oneself, therefore a Brahmana should not be spoken away (i e postponed to non Brāhmanas)'

(3) The third charge viz 'At this Sūtra literature' is ludicrous, as the vast Sūtra literature is the creation not of a juncture but of several centuries and is the gradual evolution of the Vedic literature

(4) Dr Ghosh has characterised the *snātakas* as pious and superstitious villagers To follow a course of life in meditation of God is not superstition, even if a moderner like Dr Ghosh may think it so

(5) The fifth charge of Dr Ghosh viz 'The life depicted in the Gṛhyasūtras is *magic*-ridden' is also ludicrous, as he characterises as magic things he fails to understand This is not magic but mysticism, with which every act of religion was sought to be invested in ancient times

(6) Failing to catch the real significance of the sublime *upanayana* ceremony, Dr Ghosh has characterised it as 'one of those precious relics of a primitive society, divided into age-groups, surviving into a wholly transformed society, consisting of family groups' This charge is entirely without foundation and will be refuted in the appropriate place i e description of the *Upanayana* ceremony

(7) The seventh charge of Dr. Ghosh viz 'The infinite details social history' is also equally unfounded and will be refuted in its proper place, i e description of the marriage ceremony

We now append below extracts from Mr Yamunacharya's paper on '*Christian sacraments and Hindu saṃskāras and the rationale of ritualism*'[30] *in support of our thesis* and in refutation of some of the above charges of Dr Ghosh

"The Latin word 'Sacramentum' originally meant any bodily or sensible thing, or an action, *or a from of words solemnly endowed with a meaning and purpose which in itself* it has not" (Encyclopædia Britannica) *Upanayana* is one of the many sacraments administered to persons, belonging to the three upper castes The outward ceremony is to be *symbolic of a certain inward change which is intended to be produced By sin, a man is* degenerate, by grace he is to become regenerate, or conducted (Nayana) to nearness (Upa) of spirit This is the *Dvijatva* or New Birth *Upanayana* or regenerative symbolic ceremony is to keep the consciousness awake to this mighty vital truth Till the soul is aroused to its apprehension, it is asleep and as good as dead In the Upanayana sacrament the great Vedic *Mantra*, the *Gāyatrī*, is imparted The meaning of it consists in the prayer for light of wisdom being granted by the great luminary, the Sun, recognised by the Hindu as the visible symbol of God The significance of such sacraments is found embodied in diverse manners of performing a ritual What is ideally in the mind and heart of man is translated into the concrete symbolic expression of the ritual Sacraments are regarded as oxtremely important events in the individual man's spiritual history They are believed to be efficacious in conferring divine grace on the recipient In any case faith seems to be a *sine qua non* for the efficacy of the act , so is *Upanayana* accompanied by *Brahmopadeśa* The *Snātaka* is one who is given a holy bath before sacraments are administered Another *rite which is preliminary to the offering of sacraments is tonsure Then comes the Mantra*-sacrament, which is held to possess a unique importance and efficacy in India The *mantras* are essential and fixed formulæ employed in all ritualistic observances, the yajñas and all the Sacramental ministrations beginning from before birth (*Garbha saṃskāra*) and going beyond one's demise (*aurdha dehika*), marriage ceremonies coming between Particular mantras are imparted to initiates secretly and solemnly for practice of meditation The sound itself, apart from the sense, is said to carry efficacy The doctrine of fasting may be said to be a universal religious practice In India, it is dignified with the name *Upavāsa*, which carries the *implication that the fasting day is a day when we are 'living near* God ' The tendency of the present age is to look upon the Sacraments in general as superstition, spiritless and irrational Within Hinduism itself these progressive tendencies made *themselves felt*, for instance in the *Bhagavad gītā*, 'Give up all outward ritual, lacking spiritual import and retire into God in the secret' is the import of the famous 66th verse 'Sarvadharman parityajya' of the 18th chapter of the Gītā This does not however indicate that all sacraments can be swept away at one stroke , neither does it signify that no sacraments are of significance for spiritual life The very scriptures by which people swear when *they perform their rituals warn the votaries of the futility of such practices when the* corresponding inward purity of motive and strength of faith are wanting The Bhagavad-

30 Proceedings of the eighth session of the All India Oriental Conference [Mysore], pulished in 1937, pp 401 409

gitā [XVII 28] says that 'whatever oblation is offered, whatever is given, whatever penance is performed and whatever is done, without faith, that, O Son of Pṛthā, is called *Asat* and that is naught, both after death and here '

We shall now describe the main outlines of the vast subject of Hindu sacraments

Purpose of Samskāras ' Manu [II 27 28] says, 'In the case of *dvijātis*, the taints (or sins) due to seed and the uterus (i e derived from parents) are wiped off by the homas (burnt oblations) performed during pregnancy and by jātakarma (ceremonies on birth), caula (tonsure) and the tying of the girdle of muñja grass This (human) body is rendered fit for the attainment of brahma by the study of the Veda, by (observance of) vratas, homas (oblations in fire), by the vrata called traividya, by worship (of gods, sages and manes) by generation of sons, by the performance of the five daily sacrifices and by (solemn Vedic) sacrifices ' *The view of Yāj [I 13] is that 'thus [i e by the performance* of samskāras] the taint arising from the seed and uterus [i e from the physical defects *of parents] is removed ' The samskāras had been treated from very ancient times* as necessary for unfolding the latent capacities of man for development and as being the outward symbols or signs of the inner change which would fit human beings for corporate life and they also tended to confer a certain status on those who underwent them If we look at the list of samskāras, we shall find that the purposes of samskaras were manifold Some like upanayana served spiritual and cultural purposes, they brought the unredeemed person into the company of the elect, they opened the door to Vedic study and thus conferred special privileges and exacted duties They have also psychological values, impressing on the mind of the person that he has assumed a new role and must strive to observe its rules Other samskāras like namakarana, annaprāśana and niskramana were more or less of a popular nature They afforded opportunities for the expression of love and affection and for *festivities Other samskaras like garbhadhana, pumsavana, simanto* nnayana had also mystical and symbolical elements Vivaha (marriage) was a sacrament *which brought about* a union of two personalities into one for the purpose of the continuance of society and for the uplift of the two by self restraint, by self sacrifice and mutual co operation [31]

(b) List of samskaras

The principal samskaras, named by most of the smrti writers are sixteen in number and are arranged below in the sequence of the times at which in a man s life they are performed, beginning from garbhādhāna

Garbhadhana Niseka Caturthikarma or homa Manu [II 16 and 26] Yāj I 10-11, Visnu Dh S [2 3 and 27 1] employ the word niseka as equivalent to garbhadhana In the Par gr I 11 and Āp gr [8 10 11] the rite called Caturthikarma or *Caturthihoma takes the place of the rite* called garbhadhana elsewhere

Pumsavana —occurs in almost all the Grhyasutras in Gaut, in Yaj [I 11]

31 Adapted from Dr Kane's *History of Dharmasastra*, Vol II

Sīmantonnayana—occurs almost everywhere Yāj I 11 *uses the word sīmanta*
Visnubali—mentioned in Baud gr (I 10, 13 17 and I 11 2), Vaik (III 13)

Jātakarma—described in all sūtras and smrtis

Nāmakarana—mentioned in all smrtis

Niskramana or Upaniskramana or Ādityadarśana or Nirnayana—*Manu [II 34]* and Yāj [I 11] speak of it as Niskramana, Baud gr [II 2] employs the word Upaniskramana, the Kauśikasutra [58 18] calls it Nirnayana, while Mānava gr [I 19, 1] and Visnu Dh S [27, 10] employ *appropriately the name Ādityadarśana* Gaut, *Āp gr and several other* sutras omit it

Annaprāśana—mentioned by almost every smrti

Caula or Cudākarma or Cudākarana—mentioned by all smrtis

Upanayana—mentioned by all

Vratas (four)—mentioned by most of the grhyasūtras

Samāvartana or Snāna—There is great divergence about these two Manu [III 4] seems to keep snāna (ceremonial bath after the period of studentship is over) as distinct from samāvartana Other sutra or smrti writers employ either the word snana or the word samāvartana for both the ceremonial bath and the rites of return from the teacher s house on finishing one s *studies*

Vivāha—mentioned by all as a samskara

' Manu [II 66] and Yāj [I 13] lay down that the samskāras from jatakarma to cudā karma were to be performed in the case of the twice born classes with Vedic mantras when the child was a male and that in the case of girls the ceremonies were to be performed but without Vedic mantras But the same authorit es lay down (Manu II 67 Yaj I 13) that marriage in the case of the girls of the three h gher classes was to be performed with Vedic mantras The samskāras from garbhadhāna to upanayana alone were absolutely necess ary in the case of all twice born persons , the samskāras of snāna and vivaha were not *obligatory*, as a *man was allowed* to become an ascetic immediately after finishing the period of studenthood

Another question was as to what samskaras could be performed for the śudra The *view of Aparārka* appears to be that the eight samskaras from garbhadhāna to caula (in Yaj I 11 12) were meant for all varnas (including the śudra) The Śudra krtyatattva of Raghunandana [p 634] quotes a verse from the Varahapurāna to the following effect 'This very procedure (about śrāddha) has been declared in the case of Śudras but without mantras , for the Śudra who is not entitled to repeat a mantra, a Brāhmana repeats the *mantra and then remarks that for a Śudra* a mantra from the puranas is to be repeated by the Brahmana priest employed that the Śūdra is not to repeat even the purana mantras but has only to say 'namah The Brahmapurana quoted in the Sm C [I p 24] and other digests states that no other samskara than vivaha is allowed to the Śudra On this the Nirnayasindhu remarks that these conflicting views are to be reconciled by holding

that the liberal ones apply to good Śūdras and the stricter ones to low Śūdras or that the rules are different in different countries

The rapid rise in the marriageable age of all Hindu girls accounts for the non performance in most cases of the samskāra of garbhādhana even in the case of Brahmana girls Namakarana and annaprāśana are performed in a popular way without calling a priest to officiate Caula is performed in most cases on the day of the upanayana and samāvartana is also performed a few days after or even on the next day following the day of upanayana It appears that this state of things has continued for centuries, as the Smṛtyarthasara [p 3] says, 'If the samskāras (except upanayana) are not performed at the prescribed times, the vyābrtihoma should be offered and then the samskaras should be performed (though late) For each samskāra that is not performed the penance called pādakṛcchra should be performed (if the non performance is due to some difficulty or distress) and for non performance of caula the penance is ardhakṛcchra If the samskāras were knowingly omitted or if there was no distress, then the penance is double of this' The Dharma sindhu (3rd pariccheda, purvardha) states various substitutes (which are comparatively easy) for these penances For example, one prājāpatya penance is equal to three padakrcchras In place of prajāpatya the person guilty of the lapse may make the gift of a cow or (in the absence of a cow) may give, one niska (320 guñjas) of gold or one half or one fourth of it, one who is very poor may give one eighth of a silver niska or corn of that value There being these easy substitutes (pratyamnāya as they were called) people gradually left off perform ing the several samskāras and concentrated themselves only on upanayana and vivaha '[32]

(e) Detailed description of the samskāras

The above sixteen samskaras will now be described in detail

(1) Garbhadhāna —Atharvaveda V 25 appears to be a hymn intended for the garbhādhana rite The Vaik [III 9] calls this ceremony ṛtusamgamana and is similar to Āp gr A debatable question is whether garbhadhana is a samskāra of the *garbha* (the child in the womb) or of the woman Gaut VIII 24 Manu I 16 and Yaj I 10 indicate that it is a samskāra of the *garbha* and not of the woman Later works like the Mit (on Yaj I 11) the Sm C, the Samskāratattva [p 909] hold that the garbhadhāna, pumsavana and sīmantonnayana are samskaras of the woman and are to be performed only once and quote Devala in support Aparārka holds that simantonnayana is performed only once at the first conception, while pumsavana is repeated at each conception According to Kulluka (on Manu II 27), the Sm C [I p 14] and other works garbhādhāna is not of the nature of *homa* All samskaras other than garbhadhāna can be performed by any agnate in the absence of the husband (vide Samskara prakāśa p 165)

(2) Pumsavana —The rite is so called because in virtue of it a male is born The Āśv gr (I 13 2 7) describes the rite as follows — 'He should in the third month of preg nancy, under the constellation Tisya (i e Pusya) give (thrice) to eat to the wife, after she

32 Adapted from Dr Kane s *History of Dharmaśāstra*, vol II

has fasted (on the preceding Punarvasu constellation), in the curds of a cow which has a calf of the same colour (with the cow) two beans and one grain of barley for each handful *of curds On his asking (the woman) 'What dost thou drink ? What dost thou drink ?'* she should thrice reply 'pumsavana' (generation of a male), 'pum savana ' In this way (he) *should make her take three handfuls (of cards with two beans and barley)* ' It would be clear that the pumsavana rite has several elements, religious (homa and son's importance *from ancient times), symbolical or suggestive* (the drinking of curds with beans and grain of barley) and medical (inserting some substance in the woman's nostrils) The Gobhila gr *[2 6 1 3] says, 'The time of pumsavana is in the beginning of the third month counted* from conception After having plunged with the head in the morning, (the woman) sits *with her face eastwards to the west of the fire, while the ends of her hair are still wet The* husband (of the woman), staying behind will touch with his right hand the navel (of his *wife) with the mantra 'The two males, Mitra and Varuna ' The Samskāratattva (p 910)* adds that the rite of pumsavana is to be performed within the first ten days of the third *month of pregnancy and in the auspicious times, prescribed in the works on Astrology*

(3) Sīmantonnayana —This word literally means 'parting of the hair (of a woman) upwards ' The Āśv gṛ (I 14 1 9) describes it as follows "In the fourth month of preg nancy the Sīmantonnayana (should be performed) In the fortnight of the waxing moon, when the moon may be in conjunction with a nakṣatra that is (regarded as) male (or the name of which is of the masculine gender, according to Nārāyana) , then he establishes fire (i e performs the details of homa up to offering of *ājyabhāgas*) and having spread to the west of the fire a bull s hide with its neck to the east and the hair outside, he makes eight oblations (of ajya, i e clarified butter), while his wife sits on it (hide) and takes hold (of his hand), with the two (verses), 'May Dhātṛ give to his worshipper' (Atharvaveda VIII 17. 2 3), with the two verses, *'I invoke Rākā'* (Rg *II 32 4-5)*, with the three (verses) called 'nejamesa' (a khilasūkta after Rg X 184 and Āp M P I 12 7 9) and with the verse 'Oh Prajapati, no other than you' (Rg *X 121 10) He then three times parts her* hair upwards (beginning from the front and proceeding backwards) with a bunch of an even number of unripe *fruits, with a porcupine quill that has three white spots (or rings)* and with three bunches of kuśa grass, with the words 'bhur, bhuvah, svar, om' or he *does so four times He then orders to two lute players, 'Sing (praise of) king Soma'* (They sing this gāthā) 'May Soma, our king, bless the human race Fixed is the wheel (dominion) *of this (river) , (here they take* the name in the vocative of the river near which they dwell) And let them do whatever aged Brāhmana women whose husbands and children are alive direct A bull is the fee (for the sacrifice) ' The Gobhila gr (2 7 1-12) gives the following description 'In the fourth, sixth or eighth month of first pregnancy (*prathame garbhe*) the sīmantakarana (should be performed) After having bathed in the morning (the woman) should sit on the grass, the blades of which are turned northwards, with her face turned eastwards The husband, seated behind (the fire), ties a twig with fruits of the unripe udumbara tree to [the neck of] the wife with the mantra 'This is the tree of Ūrjāvasa ' Then he parts her hair upwards with [three] bunches of kuśa grass first with

the word 'bhūh', secondly with the word 'bhuvah' and lastly with the word 'svah'. Then he again parts her hair with the verses 'with what arrow of Aditi' and 'I invoke Rākā', and does the same with a porcupine quill that has three white spots with the verses 'Thy graces, O Rākā ?' He then shows the rice and sesamum, cooked together and with ghee sprinkled above (to his wife) Having asked (her), 'what dost thou see ?', he makes her answer 'Progeny, animals and good fortune to me and long life to you ' She should then herself eat the (previously shown) food Brāhmana women should then bless her with benedictory sentences, such as '(May you be) the producer of brave sons', '(May you be) the producer of long-lived sons', '(May you be) the wife of a living person (and never a widow) ' *The Saṃskāratattva [pp 912-13] says that in case the pumsavana (of the* woman) had not been performed (previously), the mahāvyāhrtihoma, constituting the penance, should be offered, then pumsavana should be performed and afterwards sīmantonnayana should be gone through on that very day , and that owing to the single use of the particle 'vā' (i e or) there is no option among the fourth and other months but the preceding periods are more praiseworthy, on account of the maxim of the non-dilatoriness *of the competent and that consequently this rite is to be performed in the ninth* or any other later month after having undergone the requisite penance, that by the words *prathame garbhe* (i e in the first pregnancy), if there is destruction of the fœtus without the woman undergoing this samskāra and there is fresh conception, then the above time-limit does not hold good but the period, prescribed by the following text of Śankhalikhita, is to be accepted 'The sīmantonnayana (is to be performed) on the throbbing of the fœtus up till the delivery of the *child, The Samskāratattva [p 913] then quotes a text of the* Brhatrājamārtanda to the following effect 'If a woman, who has not undergone the rite of sīmantonnayana, is delivered of a child, she must do the same, placing the child on her lap in the sixth or eighth month after her delivery ' It appears, however, that gradually this picturesque rite receded in the background, so much so that Manu does not even mention it by name, though Yāj names it

(4) Visnubali —According to Vaśistha, quoted in the Samskāraprakāśa [p 176] this ceremony was to be performed in the 8th month of pregnancy, on the 2nd, 7th or 12th tithi of the bright fortnight and when the moon was in the Śravanā, Rohinī or Pusyā constellation The same work quotes verses of Āśvalāyana, describing the ceremony and stating its purpose, viz to remove harm to the fœtus and for easy delivery of the woman and that it was to be performed during every conception On the preceding day Nāndi-*śrāddha was to be performed* and then homa to fire was to be performed *up to the offering* of ājyabhāgas To the south of the fire another sthandila of the shape of a lotus or svastika was to be drawn on which 64 oblations of boiled rice with ghee thereon were to be offered to Visnu (some offer them on the fire itself) with the verses of Rg I. 22 16-21, Rg I. 154. 1 6, Rg VI 69 1-8, Rg VIII 104 11, Rg X 90 1-16, Rg X. 184, 1-3. Then to the north-east of the fire, a square plot should be smeared with cowdung and be divided into 64 squares with white dust and 64 offerings of boiled rice should be offered *with the*

same mantras and in their midst one ball of rice should be offered to Visnu with the mantra loudly muttered 'namo nārāyanaya' and the husband and wife should partake separately of two balls of the same rice Then the offering to Agni Svistakrt should be made, daksinā should be distributed and Brāhmanas should be fed

(5) Jatakarma —This appears to have been a very ancient rite It is described in the Br Up I 5 2 and VI 4 24 28, from which it is clear that the jatakarma rite contained the following parts [1] homa of curds with ghrta to the accompaniment of mantras, [2] repeating in the child s right ear the word 'speech' thrice, [3] making the child lick curds, honey and ghrta by means of a golden ladle (or ring), [4] addressing the child with a name which was to be his secret name (nāmakarana), [5] putting the child to the breast, and [6] addressing the mother with mantras The Śatapatha Brāhmana adds another detail viz asking five Brāhmanas, if available, to breathe on the child (from four quarters and one immediately above him) or the father himself may do so The Samskāratattva [pp 915-16] quotes the Gobhila gr (2 7 17 23) in this connection and cites verses from Samvarta, the Markandeyapurana, the Visnupurana, Pitāmaha (quoted in the Mit), the Varāhapurāna (quoted in the Dānadarpana) Devala (quoted in the Krtyacintāmani), Garga and the Ādipurāna The combined purport of the above quotations is to the following effect —The father of the newly born child should bathe with his clothes on, perform the vrddhiśrāddha should make gifts to Brāhmanas according to his capacity and then see the face of the child, before its umbilical cord has been cut The Nityācāra-paddhati (pp 244 255) contains an elaborate description of the auspicious or inauspicious character of the newly born child, calculated astrologically from its time of birth

(6) Namakarana —The ceremony of naming a child There is a great difference of opinion as to the time when the child was named Several times are suggested in several authorities

(a) A child was addressed by a name according to Gobhila (2 7 15) even in the Śosyantikarma, i e 'a rite for a woman who is about to be delivered of a child'

(b) Yāj 1 12 prescribes it on the eleventh day after birth

(c) Manu II 30 says that it may be performed on the 10th or 12th day after birth or on an auspicious tithi muhūrta and naksatra thereafter

(d) Gobhila (2 8 8) says that it should be on any day after ten nights one hundred nights or a year from birth

Kulluka explains Manu II 30 as 'when the 10th day is past, i e according to him it is performed on the 11th day Medhātithi does not like the addition of past (atitāyām) after 'daśamyām' in Manu II 30 and says that just as jātakarma can be performed even when there is impurity due to birth, so nāmakarana may be performed on the 10th day and that the only essential thing is that it is not to be performed before 10th or 12th Manu altogether omits the involved rules given by the Grhyasūtras about naming a boy and prescribes (II, 31 32) two simple rules, viz that the names of all the members of the four varnas should suggest respectively auspiciousness, vigour, weather and lowness (or contempt) and that the names of Brāhmanas and the other varnas should have an

addition (upapada) suggestive of śarman (happiness), rakṣā (protection), puṣṭi (prosperity) and preṣya (service or dependence on others) Yama, quoted in the Saṃskāratattva, (p 919) says that the names of Brāhmanas should have the addition of śarmā or deva, of Kṣatriyas varmā or trātā, of Vaiśyas bhūtī or gupta and of Śūdras dasa

About the names of girls, Gobhila (2 8 16-17) says, '(The names) of girls should be composed of an odd number of letters and should end in 'dā' and that the name thus formed should be first told to the mother Manu says (II, 33), 'The names of girls should *be easy to pronounce, expressive of gentleness,* explicit in sense, charming, beneficent ending in long vowels and bespeaking of benediction ' The Saṃskāratattva (p 919) quotes a text of the Prayogasāra (as quoted by Rāghavabhatta) to the following effect, "One should utter the name of a god, one's preceptor, one's preceptor's dwelling place, holy spot, presiding deity of a holy spot, a spiritually elevated person and of those with prospects of spiritual eminence [siddhādhikara] with the prefix of the particle 'Śrī'." The same work adds the following comment on the word 'siddhadhikāra' 'Those pesons who have prospects of attaining spiritual eminence by going to heaven and similar other results' and adds that 'consequently the particle Śrī' is prefixed to the names of living persons and not of dead ones and *that the* usage is to the same effect '

(7) Niskramana —Taking the child out of the house in the open This is a minor rite *This was done according to most authorities in the fourth month after birth Accord* ing to Par gr [I 17] the father makes the child look at the sun, pronouncing the verse 'that eye' (Vāj S 36 24) Gobhila (2 8 6) speaks of candradarśana (i e looking at the moon) The Krtyacintāmani, quoted in the Saṃskāratattva (p 920), says, "(The father) should make (the child) offer oblations to the sun and the moon according to their appropriate procedure " Raghunandana then adds that the oblation to the sun relates to persons other than Sāmavedins and that to the moon begins with the words, 'O, you, born of the ocean of milk '

(8) Annaprāśana —Making the child eat cooked food for the first time Manu (II 34) and Yāj (I 12) prescribe the 6th month from birth as the time of this samskāra Manu adds the option of performing this samskāra according to the time prescribed by *the family tradition As the Gobhila gr* makes no mention of this rite, so *the Saṃskāra* tattva which follows it has been obliged to lay down its prescriptions about this rite from the Puranas and earlier digests (pp 921-22) It first quotes a text as cited by the Krtyacintamani to the following effect —'The learned should perform the annaprāśana ceremony (of boys) in the 6th or the 8th month and of girls in the 5th or 7th month, so the sage has declared ' It then quotes the Matsyapurana which lays down that vrddhi-śrāddha is to be performed on the occasion of this ceremony and then prescribes the following procedure of the above rite from the Mārkandeyapurana —'Food is to be given in a plate of gold to the child, bedecked with ornaments and placed on the lap of the father in front of images of gods The food, which is mixed with honey and ghee and accompanied with gold, is highly spoken of The eating over, the child should *be made* over to the lap of the mother After having placed all the artisan's tools, weapons and *scriptures*

before the gods, (the father) should observe the characteristics of the child The tool, first taken hold of by the child, should be considered as the medium of its future occupation' Āp gr prescribes feeding of Brahmanas, making them give benedictions to the child and then causing the child eat only once a mess of curds, honey, ghee and boiled rice mixed together with the recitation of a mantra, joined to the three vyāhṛtis (bhuh, bhuvah and svah) *singly and collectively and says that according to some the flesh of partridge may* also be added

(9) Caula or Cudākarma or Cūdākarana —The first cutting of the hair of the child s head Cūdā means the 'lock or tuft of hair' kept on the head when the remaining part is shaved , so cudākarma or Cudākarana means that rite in which a lock of hair is kept (for the first time after birth) We get 'cauda' from 'cūdā', meaning 'a rite the pur pose of which is keeping a lock of hair' and as 'da' and 'la' often interchange places, so *we get 'caula' also as the name of the ceremony The word 'caula' may alternatively be* derived from 'cula' meaning hair Manu (II 35) and Vaik (III 23) say that it may be performed in the 1st or 3rd year Yāj (I 12) specifies no year but mentions only family usage (Manu II 35) has in view the Vedic verse (Rg IV 75 17 or Tai S IV 6 4 5) viz 'where arrows fall together like boys having many tufts of hair' The Āśv gr says that it may be performed in the 3rd year or in the year in which it is the custom of the family to perform it Śankhalikhitā allows it in the 3rd of 5th year (Samskāratattva p 922) *The ceremony is to be performed on an auspicious day Gobhila gr (2 9 1-29) lays down* the following procedure of the ceremony —'The cudakarana should be performed in the 3rd year (of the child) Fire is to be placed in a cowdunged spot in front of the house and the following things are to be kept in that spot —to the south twenty one bunches of kuśa grass, a vessel filled with warm water, a razor made of udumbara wood, a mirror and the barber with a razor in hand , to the north dung of a bull and rice and mustard cooked together, without ceremony , to the east four vessels each of which is separately filled with rice, barley, sesame and masa beans The cooked substance of rice and mus tard and the four vessels containing the above grains are to be made over to the barber Then the mother, having covered the child (excepting the face) with a washed cloth, sits facing the east to the west of the fire on kuśa grass, with their ends northwards The father, who is to perform the rite of the cūdākarana for his child, after having given four *oblations to the fire with the vyāhṛtis singly and collectively, sits to the west of the fire* with his face turned towards the east Then the father, having contemplated upon Savitṛ, looks at the barber with the mantra 'Here comes Savitr (Mantra br 1 6 2) and contem plating on Vāyu, looks at the warm water with the mantra 'With warm water, oh Vayu, come hither' (Mantra br 1 6 2) Having taken water with the right hand, he moistens the right portion of the head of the child *with the mantra 'May the waters moisten (thy* hair) for vigour' He should then look at the razor made of udumbara wood or at the mirror with the mantra 'Thou art the tooth of Visnu Then on the right portion of the child s hair the father puts seven kuśa bunches with the points towards the boy with the formula 'Herb, protect him' (Tai. S 1 2 1 1) Having taken hold of both the kuśa

bunches and the right portion of the child s hair with the left hand and taking the razor made of udumbara wood or mirror with the right hand, he presses the latter (on the Kuśa blades) with the words 'Axe, do not harm him' (Tai S 1 2 1, 1) The father then makes a show of cutting the hair of the child once with the mantra 'With that razor with which Pusan (cut the hair) of Bṛhaspati' and does the some twice silently Then he cuts the hair along with the Kuśa blades with the iron razor and puts them down on the bulldung The tuft of hair on the back of head and the hair on the left side are also cut three times similarly Taking hold of the child s head with both hands the father should mutter the mantra 'Three lives of Jamadagni' The rite only (without the mantras) is performed for a girl Having gone to the north of the fire the father has the child's head shaved according to the customs of the family Having placed the hairs in the previously secured dung of the bull, the father or any other person takes them to the forest (i e outside the village) and bury them underground there Some teachers prescribe the placing of the hairs in the rice, barley and similar other things The homa with the mahavyahrtis and similar other supplementary acts are to be performed and a cow is to be given as daksina for the main rite of cudâkarana' Raghunandana in his Samskāratattva (p 924) interprets 'vrihi-yavais tilamâsair iti prthak patrâni, occurring in the second sentence of the above Gobhila gr text to mean 'two vessels with rice and barley mixed together and two other vessels with sesame and mâsa beans mixed together' owing to the force of the two copulative (*dvandva*) compounds in 'vrihiyavais and 'tilamâsair' *In modern times this rite* generally takes place on the day of upanayana

(10) Upanayana —This word literally means leading or taking near' It appears that it originally meant taking near the acārya (for instruction), it may have also meant 'introducing the novice tothe stage of studenthood The Hir gr I 5 2 brings out this sense clearly 'The teacher then makes the boy utter I have come unto brahmacarya Lead me near (initiate me into it) Let me be a student, impelled by the god Savitr', Comparison with the ancient Zoroastrian scriptures [vide *S B E*, Vol V pp 285 290 *about the sacred girdle and shirt*] and the modern practices among the *Parsis of India* tend to show that Upanayana goes back to an Indo Iranian origin From the original meaning of the word 'Upanayana' by its derivation it subsequently came to mean that rite by which the boy is taken to the acarya and so upanayana principally is gayatry-upadeśa (the imparting of the sacred Gayatri mantra) Originally upanayana was a very *simple matter* and *there were* no elaborate ceremonies The would be *student came to* the teacher with a *samidh* in his hand and told the teacher that he desired to enter the stage of studenthood and begged to be allowed to be a brahmacarī, living with the teacher The age when upanayana was performed is not expressly stated in the Upanisads except in the case of Śvetaketu who was 12 The period of studenthood was usually twelve [Chandogya II 23 1, IV 10 1, VI 1 2]

The proper age of Upanayana —The Āśv gr (I 19 1 6) says that a Brâhmana boy should undergo upanayana in the eighth year from birth or from conception, a Ksatriya in the 11th year, a Vaiśya in the 12th and that to the 16th, 22nd and 24th years respectively

for the three Varnas it cannot be said that *the time for upanayana has passed* The Gobhila gr. (II 10 1 4) also says the same thing but restricts the counting of years for purposes of upanayana of boys of the several varnas to conception alone The Samskāra tattva (p 927), after quoting the above portion of Gobhila, comments that the particle ā, occurring in the words a sodaśat, ā dvāvimsāt and ā caturvimsāt, is to be taken in an inclusive sense and quotes in its support the Visnudharmottara [II 85 21a 22a] which says that 'sixteen, twenty-two and twenty four years are spoken of as the years of performing the upanayana of the Brahmana, Ksatriya and Vaisya boys respectively' In some Smrtis upanayana is allowed to be performed even earlier or at different ages, e g Gautama [I 6 8] prescribes that upanayana for a Brahmana is in the eighth year from conception but it may be in the 5th or 9th according to the result desired, and Manu II 37 says that if spiritual eminence [for the boy] is desired [by his father], then upanayana may be performed in the 5th year for a Brahmana, in the 6th year for a Ksatriya if there is a desire for military power, in the 8th for a Vaiśya if there is desire for endeavour to accumulate wealth

The auspicious times according to the Āp gr and Vaik (II 3) are vasanta (spring), grisma (summer) and śarad (autumn) for the three varnas Āśv gr (I 4 1) says that *upanayana should be performed in the bright half of a month, on an auspicious naksatra*, particularly under a naksatra the name of which is masculine

A Brahmacarī had to wear two garments, one for the lower part of the body (vāsas), another for covering the upper part of the body (uttariya) Āp Dh S (I 1 2 39 I 1 3 1 2) says that 'the garment (vāsas) for a Brāhmana, Ksatriya or Vaiśya Brahmacāri is respectively to be made of hemp, flax, *ajina* (deer skin), some teachers prescribe that the lower garment should be of cotton but coloured reddish yellow for Brāhmanas, dyed with madder for Ksatriyas, dyed with turmeric fo Vaiśyas' Gobhila (II 10 8 & 12) says that 'the lower garments of the three varnas are to be made of flax (or hemp), cotton and deer skin respectively' Gobhila (II 10 9) further says that 'the upper garment for Brāhmana should be the skin of a black deer, for Ksatriya the skin of *ruru* deer and for Vaiśya of goat skin'

Daṇda (staff) —Āśv gr (I 19 13 and I 20 1) says, 'a staff of the Palāśa wood for a Brāhmana, of Udumbara for a Ksatriya and of Bilva for a Vaiśya or all the varnas may employ a staff of any of these trees' Gobhila gr (II 10 11) says, 'the staffs made of Palāśa wood, Bilva wood and Aśvattha wood are respectively recommended for the three varnas' The length of the staff varied according to the varna of the boy Manu (II 46) says that 'in the case of the Brāhmana, Ksatriya or Vaiśya boy respectively the staff should be as high as his head, forehead or the tip of the nose' Manu (II 47) further says that 'the staff should be straight, not eaten up by worms, pleasing to look at, not intimidating to other persons, should have the bark attached to it and should not have come into contact with fire'

Mekhalā (girdle) —Āśv gr (I 19 11), Manu [II 42] and others prescribe that a girdle, made of muñja grass, should be tied round a Brāhmana boy's waist, one, made of

mûrvâ grass [which is used for making a bow string], for a Ksatriya and one of hemp-cords for a Vaiśya. Manu [II 43] further says that in the absence of these the girdle should respectively be made of Kuśa, Aśmantaka and Balvaja grass [for the three varnas] and adds that there may be one knot or three or five in the girdle Kullûka, the commentator on Manu, says that the above option in the number of knots in the girdle is according to family usage Gobhila gr [II 10 10] says that 'the girdles of the three *varnas should be made of Muñja grass, Kāśa grass and hemp respectively'* and adds [II 10 14] that 'in the absence of the requisite girdle either of them may be used for all the varnas'

The ceremony of Upanayana, as contained in the Gobhila gr [II. 10 15-52], being the shortest and also being the only authority of the Samskâratattva, is set out below in full

'Fire is to be placed in a cow-dunged spot in front of the house After having offered four oblations to the fire with the vyāhṛtis and five oblations with the mantra 'O Agni, the god vows' and others, the teacher sits with his face eastwards to the west of the fire on grass, the blades of which are turned northwards. The boy seats himself between the fire and the teacher, and towards the teacher with folded hands and on grass, the blades of which are turned northwards A Brâhmana, who is versed in the Vedas, seats himself to the south of the boy and fills the folded hands of the boy and the teacher successively with water The teacher then looks at the boy and mutters the verse, "O Agni! we are assembled together with this boy, who has come to the teacher's house Just mix him, a beautiful mortal, with us Let us roam together with him, free from dangers and let him also do the same with good', and makes the boy repeat the verse, 'I have come to brahmacarya, just lead me towards you (for Vedic study)' The teacher then asks the boy the latter's name, after having given him a name fit for salutation, which may be derived either from the name of a god or from that of a naksatra or from that of the family. The teacher then drops down the water in his folded hands and takes hold of the right hand with the thumb (of the boy) with his own right hand with the formula 'by the urge (or order) of the god Savitṛ, with the arms of the two Aśvins, with the hands of Pûsan, I seize thy hand, Oh! so and so" The teacher then makes the boy turn eastward, 'Oh! so and so, turn towards the (rising) direction of the sun Having touched the right shoulder of the boy with the right hand, the teacher should touch the navel of the latter without the intervention of a garment with the mantra 'Thou art the knot of life' *and having placed his own hand on the belly near the navel of the boy, should* mutter the formula beginning with 'Oh, you, the fire of the stomach', and then having taken the hand on the heart of the boy, the teacher repeats the mantra beginning with 'Oh, you, kṛśana, the lord of the heart' Then the teacher, having touched the right shoulder (of the boy) with his own right hand, says, 'Oh! you, so and so, I give thee to Prajāpati' and having touched the left shoulder (of the boy) with his own left hand, mutters, 'Oh! you, so and so, I give thee to the god Savitṛ' Then the teacher orders the boy, 'Thou hast become a Brahmacārî, put on fuel, drink (only water), do the service, do not sleep at day time' Having gone to the north of the fire, the teacher seats himself with his face turned east-

wards on grass the blades of which are turned northwards The boy, with his right thigh placed on the ground, sits westwards (to the north of the fire) facing the teacher, on grass, the blades of which are turned northwards After having the boy thrice wear the girdle made of muñja grass round his waist, the teacher makes him utter once the following two mantras viz 'This (girdle) stops all blasphemy' and '(This girdle is) the protector of truth' Then the boy, thus seated with hands folded and eyes fixed upon the teacher,, asks the latter to teach him the Sāvitrī The teacher then teaches the boy the Sāvitri first pada by pada, then hemistich by hemistich (and lastly) the whole verse, and also teaches him the mahavyāhrtis separately with *om* added to each of them While giving the boy a staff made of (palaśa or other) wood, the teacher makes him utter, 'O well famed one ,make me wellfamed' (The student) then should beg (food) first from his own mother, then from two other affectionate women or from all the ladies situated nearby He (the student) then announces to the teacher (what he has received by begging) and remains silent for the rest of the day After sunset (the student) puts fuel (to the fire) with the mantra, 'I have ccollected fuel for the fire' (The student) should not partake of pungent food or salt for three days After the conclusion of the upanayana ceremony the savitracaru [is to be cooked by the student]

A rule about Yajñopavīta [sacred thread] may now be stated here Manu [II 44] prescribes that the Yajñopavita for Brāhmana Ksatriya and Vaiśya should respectively be of cotton, hemp and sheep wool The Yajñopavita is to have three threads of nine strands well twisted [for each thread] Vide Chandogapasiśista and Devala quoted by Kulluka on Manu II 44

'An interesting question is whether women ever had upanayana performed or whether they had to wear the Yajñopavita In the Gobhila gr [II I, 19] it is said 'Leading for ward *towards the sacred fire [from the house] the bride who is wrapped in a robe and wears* the sacred thread [slung from her left shoulder, in the Yajñopavīta mode], he [her husband] should murmur the verse 'Soma gave her to Gandhava' [Rg X, 85 41] ' It is clear that the girl, according to Gobhila wore the Yajñopavita as a symbol of the rites of upanayana The Haritadharmasutra, as quoted in the commentary of the Gobhila gr on the above sūtra, says 'There are two sorts of women those that are brahmavādinis [i e students of sacred lore] and those that are sadyovadhus [i e who straightway marry] Out of these brahmavādinīs have to go through upanayana, keeping fire, Vedic study and begging in one s house]i e under the parental roof] , but in the case of sadyovadhūs when their marriage is drawing near, the mere ceremony of upanayana should somehow be performed and then their marriage should be celebrated' Having spoken of the samskāras from jātakarma to upanayana, Manu lays down [II 66-67[, 'These ceremonies were to be performed in their entirety for women also but without mantras The cere mony of marriage is the only samskāra performed with Vedic mantras in the case of women , (*in their case*) *attendance on the husband amounts to serving a guru (which a* student had to do) and performance of domestic duties to worship of fire (which the student had to perform by offering a fuel stick in the evening every day)' This shows

that Manu seems to have been aware of the upanayana of women as prevalent in ancient times and that in his days this usage had gone out of practice The next important question is as to whether upanayana was performed in the case of the blind, the deaf and the dumb, the idiotic etc Manu (IX 201-2) and Yājñavalkya (II 140-141) lay down that persons, who are impotent, *patita*, congenitally blind or deaf, lunatics idiots, dumb, cripple and those who suffer from incurable diseases, are not entitled to share property on partition, but are only entitled to be maintained But they allow even these to marry (Vide Manu IX 203) As marriage is not possible for *dvijatis* unless upanayana precedes it, it appears that the ceremony of upanayana was gone through as far as it could be carried out in the case of the blind and similar other persons Manu (X 41) says that the six classes of persons, viz three belonging to the three twice born classes and three *anulomas* (i e mixed castes of persons born of the union of a higher caste man and a lower caste woman) are eligible for the rites of *dvijas* (including upanayana) and the Mit (on Yaj I 91 and 95) says that *anulomas* have upanayana performed according to the rules of the caste of the mother and further mixed castes arising from the six *anuloma* castes in the *anuloma* order are also eligible for upanayana All *pratilomas* were like Śūdra according to Manu (X 41) and the offspring of a Brâhmana from a Śūdra woman, though *anuloma*, was like *pratiloma* ' [33]

Sâvitryupadeśa —It is nothing but imparting the sacred Gâyatrī verse to the student and though there are various rules about the time of its imparting, the general practice seems to have been to do the same on the very day of upanayana The sacred Gayatrī verse is Rg III 62 10 and is addressed to Savitr (the sun) It literally means, 'We *contemplate that esteemed refulgence of the divine Savitṛ who may inspire our intellects'* Manu (II 104) and others prescribe that everyday a Brahmacārī (as well as others) must perform japa of Gāyatrī There are mantras for invoking the Gāyatrī and for taking leave of it

Samdhyā —The word 'samdhya', which literally means 'twilight', is an abbreviation of the words 'samdhyopāsana' and 'samdhyâvandana' and thus indicates the action of prayer, performed in the morning and evening twilight This prayer is sometimes prescribed as necessary thrice a day viz at day break, in the noon and at sunset The principal constituents of samdhyopāsana are these Ācamanas (sipping of water), prāṇāyāma (restraint of breath), mārjana thrice (sprinkling himself with water to the accompaniment of several mantras), aghamarsana (driving out sin), offering of water to the sun (arghya), japa of Gāyatrī and upasthāna (reciting mantras by way of worship of the sun in the morning and generally of Varuna in the evening)

(11-14) The four Veda vratas —The Gobhila gr (III I 26-31) mentions the vratas as Godânika, Vratika, Āditya, Aupanisada, Jyestha samika, each lasting for one year and

33 Adapted from Dr Kane's *History of Dharmaśāstra*, vol II

adds that some do not observe the Āditya vrata The Godana vrata is connected by the Gobhilīya with the saṃskāra of godāna (to be described below) and it prescribes certain observances for it such as removing all hair on the head, chin and lips avoiding falsehood, anger, sexual intercourse, perfumes, dancing and singing, collyrium, honey and meat, not wearing shoes in the village It also prescribes that wearing the girdle, begging for food carrying a staff, daily bath, offering a fuel stick and clasping the teacher's feet in the morning are common to all vratas

Keśānta or godāna —This saṃskāra consists in shaving the head and also the hair on the other parts of the body (such as armpits, chin) Manu [II 65] and Yāj [I 36] employ the word 'keśānta', while Gobhila and other gṛhyasūtras employ the word 'godāna' According to Manu [II 65] Keśānta is performed in the 16th and 22nd or 24th year respectively for a Brahmana Ksatriya or Vaiśya The Saṃskāratattva [pp 874 875] quotes a long extract from the Gṛhyasaṃgraha, containing 26 names of the fire kindled in the several rites and ceremonies and the seventh line of this extract is to the effect, 'godane suryanamā ca keśānte hyagnirucyate' Raghunandana, the author of the Saṃskāratattva comments immediately below with the words viz 'godane godānakhya-saṃskāre [i e the word 'godāne' here means 'in the saṃskāra of godāna'] but he describes the saṃskāra of godāna or keśanta nowhere in his above work So it seems that he was aware of the existence of the saṃskāra of godāna which had gone out of vogue long before his time But the text of the Gṛhyasaṃgraha, as quoted by him, enumerates 'godāna' and 'keśānta' as separate saṃskāras and not identical ones The above lengthy passage is quoted as from the Kapila pañcarātra with slight variations and different readings by Govindānanda in his Dānakriyākaumudī (pp 205 206) Govindānanda quotes the first pāda of the line 'godāne etc' but omits the second pāda of this line and also the first pāda of the next line So we do not come across both the words 'godāna' and keśānta' but the first word 'godāna' only in the above text in Govindānanda's quotation

[15] Snāna or Samāvartana —[Taking the ceremonial bath after finishing Vedic study and returning from the teacher's house] Manu [III 4] uses both snāna and samāvartana in 'A *dvija*, being permitted by his teacher, may take the ceremonial bath and return from his teacher according to the rules laid down [in his own gṛhyasutra] and then marry a girl, belonging to the same varna and endowed with the auspicious signs' A person who has taken the ceremonial bath is called a *snātaka* A *snātaka* is said by the Gobhila gṛ [III 5 21 22] and others to be of three kinds, viz Vidyāsnātaka, Vratasnātaka and Vidyāvratasnātaka One, who has finished Veda study but has not gone through the vratas, described above is called *Vidyāsnātaka*, one, who has finished the vratas but has not finished his Veda study, is styled *Vratasnātaka*, while one, who has finished both, is named *Vidyāvratasnātaka* Gobhila gṛ [III 5, 23] says that of these, *Vidyāvratasnātaka* is the best, the other two being equal to each other When Yāj [I 51] says that '[a student], after finishing veda [study] or the vratas [observances of brahmacarya] or both, and after giving to the teacher what the latter chooses to ask, should take the ceremonial bath with the teacher's permission', he seems to refer to the three fold division of *snātakas*

In modern times samāvartana often takes place a short time after upanayana and sometimes on the 4th day thereafter or even the next day Owing to the discontinuance of Vedic study among the majority of the Brāhmanas, samāvartana has now become a mere matter of form to them As a Brahmacārī is not affected by the mourning due to the death of relatives [except his parents and teacher], on samāvartana he has to observe impurity for three days [for deaths, and not for births, of relatives in the interval] [Vide Manu V 88]

[16] Vivāha [marriage] —This is the most important of all saṁskāras "The several words, such as udvāha, vivāha pariṇaya upayama and pāṇigrahaṇa, that are *employed to denote the idea of marriage, indicate one or more of the elements of the* saṁskāra of marriage Udvāha means 'taking the girl out of her paternal home', vivāha indicates 'taking the girl away in a special way or for a special purpose i e for making her one's wife', pariṇaya means 'going round i e making a pradakṣiṇā to fire', upayama indicates 'bringing near and making one's own', while pāṇigrahaṇa is nothing but 'taking the hand of the girl [34]

The first consideration is how to choose a bridegroom Manu [III 42] says, 'One, who desires to raise his family to excellence and eminence, should always enter into matrimonial alliances with the best and avoid alliance with the low' and adds [III 6-7] that ten kinds of families even though richly endowed with cattle wealth and agricultural products should be avoided in marriage viz in which the saṁskāras are not performed, in which there is no male progeny which are devoid of veda [study], which have hairy members that suffer from piles or consumption or indigestion or epilepsy leucoderma or leprosy Yāj [I 54 55] emphasizes the importance of a good family famed for ten generations and freedom from diseases that are hereditarily transmitted and adds that the bridegroom must be young, intelligent a favourite among the people and his virility must be carefully tested

The second consideration is how to choose a bride Yāj [I 52] and several others say that the girl must be younger than the bridegroom and must be a virgin and of the same caste as that of the bridegroom [Vide Manu III 4 for the last requisite] Manu [III 11] and Yāj [I 53] require that the girl to be chosen must not be brotherless The above rule of marrying a girl of the same caste is endogamy but the principle of exogamy operated within the caste itself Gobhila gr [III 4 4] and Manu [III 5] require that the bride to be chosen must not belong to the same gotra as that of the bridegroom Vasiṣṭha [III 2] Yāj [I 53] and many others prohibit sameness of *gotra* as well as of *pravara* Gobhila gr [III 4 5] Vasiṣṭha [III 2] and Manu [III 5] require that the bride must not be a *sapiṇḍa* or blood relation of the mother of the bridegroom while Yāj [I 53] and others restrict the prohibition against marrying a *sapiṇḍa* girl to seven degrees on the father's side and five degrees on the mother's side Yāj [I 53] further insists upon freedom from diseases in case of the girl also

34 Adapted from Dr Kane's [illegible] Vol II

The age of marriage for both sexes has varied considerably from age to age, from province to province and also from caste to caste even at the same time As regards men there is no special rule as to the age before which a man was obliged to marry He could never marry at all but at least in mediæval and modern times marriage has been absolutely necessary for every girl The ancient gṛhya and dharmasūtras testify that girls were married just before the time of puberty or immediately after it The prohibition against marriage with a *sapinda* girl applied to all varnas including the Śūdra

The next question is as to who have power to arrange for the marriage of a girl and to give her away The Visnu Dh S [24 38 39] says, 'The father, the paternal grand father, a brother, a kinsman, the maternal grandfather and the mother are the persons, by whom the girl may be given away in marriage In the absence of the preceding one (the right) devolves upon the next in order, in case he is not affected by lunacy and similar defects'

About the times auspicious for marriage, the Udvâhatattva [p 124] quotes the Rajamârtanda and Bhujabalabhîma to the effect that all months are auspicious for marri age except Caitra and Pausa and then when a girl is very much grown up, one should not wait for auspicious seasons, but she should be given away on any day when the moon and the zodiacal sign, rising at the moment of marriage, are favourable, and that one should go into questions of auspicious *ayana* (i e solstice), month, day etc up to only the tenth year of girls

Forms of marriage —All the grhyasutras, dharmasûtras and smṛtis agree that the forms of marriage are eight in number and as there is general agreement among them on the special characteristics of each, it will suffice if we point out these from Manu [III 27 34] The gift of a daughter, after decking her [with valuable garments] and honouring her [with jewels etc] to a man, learned in the Vedas and of good conduct, whom the father of the girl himself invites is called Brâhma When the father gives away his daughter *after decking her [with ornaments etc] to a priest who duly officiates at a sacri* fice, during the course of its performance, it is the Daiva form When there is a gift of one s daughter, after taking one pair of cattle [a cow and a bull] or two pairs only as a matter of fulfilling the law [and not as a sale of the girl], that is named the Ārsa form The gift of a daughter, after the father has addressed (the couple) with the words 'May both of you perform your religious duties together' and after he has honoured the bride-groom [with maduparka etc], is declared to constitute the Prâjâpatya form When the girl is given away at the father's will after the bridegroom gives as much wealth as he can afford to pay to the relatives of the girl and to the girl herself, that is called the Āsura form The union of a girl and the bridegroom by their mutual consent is known as Gāndharva, which springs from the passion of love and has intercourse as its purpose *The forcible abduction of a maiden from her house, while she weeps and cries aloud, after* her kinsmen have been slain (or beaten), wounded and (their houses or fortresses) are broken open, is called the Râksasa form When a man has intercourse with a girl stealthily

while she is asleep or intoxicated or disordered in mind (or unconscious), that is the Paiśāca *form, which is the basest and the most sinful of all forms*

The first of the above eight verses of Manu i e III 27, specifying the Brāhma form, contains the words 'ācchādya cārcayitvā ca' [i e decking and honouring] with no mention of objects So these two words have been variously interpreted by the commentator Kullūka and by the digest writer Raghunandana in his Saṃskāratattva (p 886) The former says that both the girl and the bridegroom are to be decked with good garments and honoured with ornaments and other precious things, while the latter is of opinion that the girl is to be *covered with a pair of red apparel and the bridegroom is* to be decked with two pieces of white cloths and both are to be honoured with ornaments and with the requisites as prescribed by Gobhila respectively Raghunandana quotes Manu III 31 also, defining the Āsura form in the Saṃskāratattva (p. 893) It is rather significant that Raghunandana in his Udvāhatattva (pp 105 and 123 129) does not specify the above eight forms of marriage from Manu but from Yāj (I 58 61) and quotes Manu III 27, III 33b and III 34 only, defining the Brāhma Rākṣasa and Paiśāca forms In modern times two forms *are prevalent, Brāhma and Āsura In the former it is a gift of* the girl, pure and simple, while in the latter it is like the sale of the bride for pecuniary consideration paid to the father or other guardian for his benefit The Gāndharva form, said to be obsolete now, has been held to be still in vogue in some cases before the courts

The Gobhila gṛ (II 1 3) deals with the marriage rites as follows —

One should secure a wife (i e marry) in an auspicious nakṣatra, after having got her auspicious characteristics ascertained by persons proficient in the art of doing so In the *rite of pāṇigrahaṇa (i e marriage) fire is to be placed in a conducted spot in front of the* house Then one of the relations of the bridegroom having fully filled a jar with water and taken it with him and having covered his body with cloth should silently circumambulate the fire and then remain standing with his face turned northwards to the south of the fire Another person with a rod in hand stands to the east of the former person Then several persons place with a ladle to the west of the fire four handfuls of fried grains mixed with śamī leaves and also place a mortar and pestle there The bride should plunge into water with her head The bridegroom should make her put on a pair of new cloths with the mantras Let those beautiful weaver women, who spun the threads, wove them into this cloth of yours and prepared the borders of your cloth, dress you O bride, up to your old age, and O the long lived one! put on this cloth! With this the bridegroom makes the bride put on the lower garment 'O weaver women may you all along dress this bride, who will live up to a hundred years, with cloth and may you increase her life' Having said this to the weaver women, the bridegroom exhorts the bride with the mantra, 'O you venerable lady! may you be powerful and live up to a hundred years, and also having so lived, may you enjoy the wealth!' Having said this the bridegroom makes the bride put on the upper garment in the Yajñopavīta mode Leading forward towards the sacred fire (from the house) the bride who is wrapped in a cloth and wears the sacred thread (hung from her left shoulder in the Yajñopavīta mode), he

(the husband) should murmur the verse 'Soma gave her to Gandharva' (Rg X 85 41) The bridegroom should then make the bride carry towards the fire by her feet a seat, made of leaves and covered with a cloth, and make her mutter simultaneously the mantra, 'Let the path for the travel of my husband be made by you' If the bride does not mutter *(either owing to childhood or due to bashfulness)*, then the bridegroom himself does so with the change of the phrase 'my husband' by 'her husband' in the above mantra The bridegroom should make the bride place the seat near the grass The bride should sit in the eastern portion of the seat to the south of the bridegroom The bride having touched the right shoulder of the bridegroom with her right hand, the bridegroom offers six oblations of ghee into the fire with the six *mantras* viz 'Let *Agni, the foremost of the gods*, come and rescue her future progeny from the fear of premature death Let the yonder resplendent Varuna so ordain that this woman may not weep from bereavement of her sons Let the Garhapatya Agni (i e fire continually kept ablaze by the master of the house) protect this girl and consequently grant to her offspring and descendants up to her old age Let this girl, being the mother of living sons, be always provided with offspring at her lap and enjoy particularly the delight arising from sons O bride, let the heaven protect your back and Vayu and the two *Aśvins* protect your thighs Let *Savitr* protect your suckling sons and Brhaspati protect the portion of your body under your lower garment Let *Viśve devah* protect the *remaining parts of your body* O bride, *let not your cry rise in* the house at night but let the weeping women enter into the houses other than yours May you never cry by beating against your breast but may you adorn the house of your husband, looking at your delighted descendants O bride, I hereby take away from your hand just like a garland and throw towards the enemies the three sinful results just as barrenness, death of sons and bondage and any other sin resting in you Let premature death go away unsuccessful and immortality (for the specified period of a hundred years) come to me *Let Yama, the son of Vivasvat, confer freedom from fear upon us O Death, go along* the path which is different from those of both of us and of the gods (i e along the path of the fathers) I pray to you who are *endowed with vision and power of hearing, not to* kill our offspring, specially the sons' He should also perform three oblations with the three mahāvyahṛtis singly and do the fourth one with the same collectively The bridegroom having made oblations to the fire, both the bridegroom and the bride should stay together with folded hands The bridegroom, having gone to the right of the bride by her backside and taken hold of her folded hands by his right hand, should remain facing the north The mother or a brother of the bride, standing in the east, having taken the previ*ously secured fried grains*, should make the bride mount on the stone (i e *mortar* and pestle) with the end of her right foot The bridegroom should at that time mutter, 'She has mounted on the stone' *The mother or the brother hands over to the folded palms* of the bride a handful of fried grains, collected at a single effort. The bridegroom, having muttered the mantra "This woman, while throwing the fried grains into the fire, prays before it with the words 'Let my husband be long lived up to a hundred years and let my husband's relations prosper', the bride should make oblations of the above handful of fried

grains mixed with ghee into the fire, with the mantras viz 'To the god Aryaman the girls offered sacrifice' and 'to Pusan the girls offered sacrifice' The oblation with the handful of fried grains by the bride being over, the bridegroom, having retraced his steps and come back to the west of the bride, make her go round the fire with the mantra, 'This girl, going to her husband's house from her parents, made oblations to the fire without being initiated into the Sâvitrī, 'O girl! we, being united with you, shall torment the enemies like united masses of water' The bride remains standing and mounting on the stone as previously and the bridegroom mutters the mantra and the bride scatters the fried grains and makes oblations to the fire as previously This procedure is to be repeated thrice Having poured ghee on the northern portion of the ladle and placed the remaining fried grains on it, the bride should pour ghee again twice on it—this is the fourth procedure Then the bride is to be led seven steps by the production of her right leg first, followed by the left leg towards the north with the mantras viz 'O bride! let Visnu lead you one step forward for increase of food, let Visnu lead you two steps forward for increase of strength let Visnu lead you three steps forward for the performance of the duties of the householder, let Visnu lead you four steps forward for the increase of happiness, let Visnu lead you five steps forward for the increase of the cattle, let Visnu lead you six steps forward for the increase of wealth and let Visnu lead you seven steps forward for the acquisition of seven kinds of priests necessary for a sacrifice' While she is so going, the bridegroom should tell her 'Do not supersede your right leg by your left leg' The bridegroom should ask of the spectators with the mantra, 'Let this bride be highly auspicious' The âcarya, having taken the jar of water and come to that place by the western direction of the fire, sprinkles with water the head of the bridegroom and also that of the bride while the bride groom mutters the mantra, Let all the gods make the hearts of both of us full of affection Let all the presiding deities of water make the hearts of both of us full of affection Let *Vayu (the god of wind) do so Let Dhātr (the Creator) do so Let the goddess, presiding* over the heart, unify our hearts' Having taken hold of the left wrist of the bride by the left hand and the upper portion of the right hand along with the thumb of the bride by the right hand, the bridegroom mutters the following six mantras, 'I take thy hand for prosperity (or love) so that you may grow to old age with me, thy husband, the gods, Bhaga, Aryaman, Savitr, the wise Pusan have given thee to me for performing the duties of a householder O bride, may you be possessed of tender sight (or affection), may you not kill your husband, but may you be favourably disposed to the cattle (i e bring up the cattle), may you be possessed of good heart and good vigour, may you bring forth sons, may your offspring live, may you be favourably disposed to the five mahāyajñas and may you, being happiness personified, confer good on our servants and cattle O girl, let Prajāpati (the Creator) generate your progeny Let the god Aryaman embellish you with beauty up to your senility The beneficent gods gave you to me So enter into the abode of yonr husband and be benevolent towards our servants and cattle O Indra! make her endowed with worthy sons and prosperity, bestow on her ten sons and make her husband the eleventh (male), may you be queen over your father in law, over the husband s brother

and sister O girl ! let Bṛhaspati place your heart in my actions and let your heart follow mine May you act up to my words with an attentive mind Let Bṛhaspati engage you for my benefit ' The marriage rites having been concluded, the relations of the bridegroom lead the bride to a good Brāhmana's house to the north east A fire is placed there To the west of the fire a red bull s hide with the head turned towards the east and strewn with fur should be laid The bride who is keeping silent is to be made to sit on it and she keeps sitting on it till the sight of a star The star having been seen, the bridegroom offers six oblations of clarified butter *to the fire with the following mantras, viz 'O bride !* I shall destroy by these full oblations of ghee to fire all the sins (i e inauspicious signs) in the lines of your forehead and palms, in lashes of your eyes, in the cavities of your navel, in your hair, in your eye sight, in your manner of weeping, in your conduct and conversation, in your manner of laughing, in your little teeth, in your hands and feet, in your thighs, in your private parts, in your haunches and in your joints I have destroyed, O bride, all the inauspicious signs of your body by these full oblations of ghee to fire ' After each oblation the *bridegroom pours on the head of the bride clarified* butter trickling through the ladle After the oblation the bridegroom rises up, comes out and shows the bride the Pole star and the bride says, 'Firm art thou, I, so and so, shall be henceforth firm in the family of my husband, so and so ' The bridegroom then shows her the star Arundhatī and she says, 'O Arundhati, I am engrossed in my husband just like you ' The bridegroom then makes the bride mutter the mantra 'Just as the heaven is firm, all this universe is firm, all these mountains are firm so let this wife be firm in her husband s family ' The bride then salutes her preceptor (i e the husband) with the name of her father's family Thenceforward both of them should sleep together in bare ground in sexuul abstinence for three nights without partaking of pungent food or salt The father of the bride should now honour the bridegroom with *vistara* (or seat) Some teachers prescribe that he should extend the honour to the invited persons also The bridegroom then partakes of *haviṣya* diet, sanctified with the mantra 'with the jewellish bond of food etc' *In the next morning he prepares the sthalīpāka* (i e common dinner) for full meal, if the marriage ceremony extends to late hours of the night when partaking of meal is prohibited The presiding deities of the *sthalīpāka* are Agni, Prajāpati, Viśvedevah and Anumati After having taken out some portion of the cooked substance and placed it in another vessel, the bridegroom touches it with the three mantras viz 'O bride ! I bind your mind and heart with this jewellish bond of food, this fine thread of life and this knot of truth Let this heart of yours be that of mine and this *heart of mine* that of yours As food is the binding material of life, so you, so and so, I bind you with that ' The bridegroom, after having partaken of the cooked food, sanctified as above, hands over the leavings of his food to the bride and this concludes the marriage ceremony

In this description of the samskāra of marriage, there are three parts, viz. *preliminary, essential and subsequent The essential rites are pāṇigrahana, homa,* going round the fire and the saptapadi and the rites like seeing the Pole star etc are subsequent to the essential rites

We shall now try to explain the symbolism of the several rites of a Hindu marriage Incidentally it may be said that a symbol is a 'thing regarded by general consent as naturally typifying or representing or recalling something by possession of analogous qualities or by association in fact or thought' and that in ancient times, when human fancy was stronger and the human speech was not adequately developed to express every shade of thought, symbols played a very important part and that in religion and mythology they were commonly used The ceremony of pāṇigrahaṇa i e grasping of the bride's hand is symbolical of physical bond between the husband and the wife In the *sthalīpāka* or the common dinner the husband makes the wife eat the mess of cooked food Here both the material and the vital selves of the husband and the wife are united The fact that marriage is a permanent union which stands various vicissitudes in life only to grow stronger and more stable has been symbolised by a number of ceremonies in the Hindu nuptials In the aśmarohana or 'mounting on a stone' ceremony the husband makes the wife tread on a stone, which is a symbol of firmness and strength The wife is thereby exhorted to be adamantine in her conjugal fidelity In the dhruvadarśana or 'looking at the Pole star', the wife is advised to be as firm and fixed as the Pole star is amidst innumerable moving bodies in the firmament In the Laja Homa or 'offerings of fried grains mixed with śami leaves into fire ceremony the mother or the brother of the bride pours out of her or his joined hands fried grains and the bride then offers them into the fire Here grains and leaves are symbols of fruitfulness and prosperity The ceremony of making the bride sit on a red bull's hide is also symbolical of virility '35

[The word *yajñopavitinīm*, occurring in the first paragraph of the above Gobhila gr text, has been interpreted by Raghunandana in his Samskāratattva (p 896 as 'wearing the upper garment in the Yajñopavita mode' and not as 'wearing the sacred thread, slung from her left shoulder in the Yajñopavita mode Raghunandana supports his interpretation by the citation of several authorities and also confirms it by the long established custom to the contrary He seems to be right as Gobhila himself says later on in the above text 'This girl, going to her husband's house from her parents', made oblations to the fire *without being initiated into the Sāvitri* , the last portion clearing showing that in his time girls were not initiated into the Sāvitri, i e they did not undergo the upanayana ceremony]

Four questions regarding marriage shall now be discussed, viz

(1) When can a marriage be said to be final and irrevocable ,

(2) what should happen if a marriage is brought about by force or fraud and

(3 & 4) what are *parivedana* and *adhivedana*

Manu says (VIII 168) 'What is given by force what is enjoyed by force, also what

35 Adapted from R B Pandey's 'Symbolism of Hindu nuptials', *Indian Culture*, Vol XI, No 3 (January March 1945) pp 127-131

has been caused to be written by force and all other transactions done by force, Manu has declared void', and in VIII 165 he places fraudulent transactions on the same footing as those brought about by force But Manu (VIII 227) says, 'The Vedic mantras, recited in the marriage rite, are a sure indication of wifehood, but their completion should be understood by the wise as occurring on taking the seventh step' Manu (IX 47) further declares, 'Once is the partition of inheritance made, once is a maiden given in marriage' This rule really means that once the ceremony of marriage is completed by saptapadi, the marriage is irrevocable and the girl cannot thereafter be given to any one else

Parivedana —When a male got married before his elder brother or where a person married a younger girl before the marriage of her elder sister, the act was called parivedana and was severely condemned as a sin The younger brother who marries before the elder brother is called *parivetta*, the elder brother before whom the younger brother marries is called *parivitti* (Manu III 171) The younger sister who marries before the elder sister is called *agredidhisu* and the elder sister before whom her younger sister marries is called *didhisu* The husbands of these women are respectively called *agredidhisupati* and *didhisupati* (Gaut.15 15) Manu (III 172) says that the *parivetta*, the *parivitti*, the girl whom the younger brother marries before the elder, the man who has given the girl in marriage and the officiating priest—these five all fall into hell Medhātithi on Manu III 171 quotes a verse to the following effect, 'One need not wait where the elder brother is a lunatic or a sinner, leprous or *patita*, impotent or suffering from tuberculosis or indigestion and remarks that this is only illustrative A verse of Śātātapa, as quoted in the Gṛhastharatnākara (p 82) says that 'there is no blemish in marrying before the elder brother, if he is impotent or has gone abroad, *patita* or has become a recluse or is devoted to Yogaśāstra'

Adhivedana —Adhivedana (or supersession) is marrying a second wife in the life time of the first one Manu (IX 80-83) deals with this topic The purport of the above four verses is the following —'A wife, who is habitually a drunkard or of dishonest disposition or who causes injury to the husband, or is afflicted with diseases, cruel or spendthrift is to be superseded The wife, who is either barren or gives birth to still born children who produces female children only or speaks harsh words, is to be respectively superseded in the eighth, tenth or eleventh year of marriage or immediately The wife, who is diseased but favourably disposed to the husband and is of good character, should be superseded with her consent and she is never to be insulted The superseded wife, who goes out of the house in anger, should be forthwith arrested or deserted before her blood relations' Yāj (I 73 74) also deals with this topic His list of wives, fit to be superseded, is almost the same as that of Manu but he omits the wife who produces still born children from the list and adds that all these wives are to be properly maintained or else great sin results from it It is significant that owing to the universal prevalence of polygamy in India in later days none but Candeśvara [of the 14th century] deals with the above topic in his Grhastharatnākara [pp 84 86] and besides quoting the above texts of Manu and Yāj, this author adds verses from Hārita and Devala which are practically to the same effect It is interesting to note in this connection that the late Pandit Iswar Chandra Vidyāsāgara, the

great Bengali scholar and social reformer of the 19th century, quoted Manu [IX. 81] in support of his efforts to have legislation passed to abolish polygamy among the Hindus[36] The contemplated legislation was, however, not made by the Government of India at that time but almost a century afterwards by the passing in 1955 of the Hindu Marriage Act, which prohibits polygamy and makes it punishable by law

36 Vide Bankim Chandra's Essay viz, 'Bahuvivāha' [i e. polygamy], published in his Vividha Prabandha

Appendix (A) — Quotations from the Rāmāyana (R)

(a) The identified ones

1. *Dānasāgara* (D S)

D S R

1 p 593=V 93 11 and 13 (N W), VI 18 30 (G P) (the 1st verse only)
Rāmāyane —
vinastah paśyato gācchatyaraksitah //
suparyāptavisrstasya śaranāgate //

2 *Hāralatā* (H L)

H L R

2 p 64=III 2 24 (Bl), III 1 55cd 56ab (N W) II 117 24cd-25ab (G P)
yatah Śrīrāmāyane Sītām pratyanasuyā vākyam—nāto viśistam gurureva ca' //
(Bl reads *prabhur* for *gatir* in the 3rd foot)

3 pp 152-3=II 81 22 24 and 26, II 114 12 (Bl) II 85 22-24 and 26, II 119 12 (N W), II 105 26 (G P) (Mbh verse only)
Śrīrāmāyane—'Śocamānāstu mā śucah' //
Tathā— samyago . evābhijāyate' // Mahabhārate—'yathā kāsthamca tadvad bhūtasamāgamah' //

(*Six verses in all*)

Bl and N W recensions of R read *śocanto nanu* for *śocamānāstu* in the 1st verse, *punye* for *dharme* in the 3rd verse, and *sthitvā kiñcit ksanāntaram* for *tadvad samāgamah* in the Mbh quotation and omit the 5th verse following tatha G P reads the Mbh verse only and *kālam āsādya kañcana* in the last foot)

3 *Krtyaratnākara* (K R)

K R R

4 p 214=II 79 12 (Bl) II 83 17 (N W)
Śrīrāmāyane Bharataśapathesu—'asādhī yasyāryo'numate gatah' //
(Bl reads *punyasammitāh* for *punyasambhavah* in the 2nd foot, N W reads the 2nd foot as *vaiśākho (?) caiva pūrnimā* and *yātu* for *yāntu* in the 3rd foot)

4 *Dānakriyākaumudī* (D K K)

D K K R

5 p 4 =I 12 30 (Bl) I 9 90 (N W)
Rāmāyane—'avajñaya tu yad dattam tad dātur dosam āpnuyāt' /

6 p 38=II 86 2ab (Bl) II 90 2ab (N W) II 77 2ab (G P)
'tataś coddiśya pitaram brāhmanebhyo dhanam dadau / iti Ramāyanat /

7 p 39=II 86 2 3 (Bl) II 90 2 3 (N W), II 77 2 3 (G P)

Atra kecid Rāmāyane śrāddhānantaram—'tataś coddiśya pitaram . rājñas tasyaurdhvadehike' / ityavidhanāt kurvanti /

(partly the same as the previous quotation)

8 p 76=cf. I. 71. 22ab (G P)—
Rāmāyane Sitāvāgdānakāle Janakavākyam—'ime kanye prayacchāmi trir vadāmi na saṃśayah' / (G P.—*dvitīyām ūrmilām caiva*—in the 1st half)

9. p 96=II 86. 2cd, 3a, 3d, (Bl.), II, 90. 2cd, 3a, 3d (N.W), II. 77. 2cd, 3a, 3d (G P.).
Tataśca—'mahārhāni rājñas tasyaurdhvadehike' // ityādi Rāmāyanoktavat
(part of the quot. on p 39 of D.K K)

5 *Śrāddhakriyākaumudī* (Śr K. K.)

Śr. K. K. R.

10 p. 12 =I. 50. 10 (Bl), I. 45. 9 (N W), cf I. 49 9 (G P)
'Urabhro vṛsana eva ca / Atah prabhṛti kākustha . . naiva bhuñjate /—iti Rāmāyanadarśanāt /
(3 lines ; R omits the 1st line)

11. p 340=II. 86 1 (Bl), II. 90 1 (N W.), II 77. 1 (G P)
Ata eva Rāmāyane—'Samatīte trayodaśikameva ca' //

12 p. 372=II. 111. 33 (Bl), II 116 33 (N.W.), II. 103. 27 (G P.)
Ata eva Rāmāyane—'etat te maddattam upatisthatām' iti /
(All recensions read *tiṣṭhatu* in the last word)

13. pp *384-5=II 86. 2-3 (Bl), II. 90 2-3 (N.W.), II. 77. 2-3 (G P)*
yathā Rāmāyane—'tataścoddisya pitaram . rājñas tasyaurdhvadehike /'
(the same as the quot on p 39 of D K.K.)

14 pp 451-2= II 35-6 (Bl), II. 116 35-6 (N.W.), II 103, 29-30 (G.P.),
Ata eva Rāmāyane . Vālmīkimaharsi-varnitam saṅgacchate /
yathā—'aiṅgudam pitṛdevatāḥ' //

6 *Śuddhikaumudī* (Ś K)

Ś. K. R

15. p. 88=II 111 35-6 (Bl), II 116 35-6 (N W), II. 103 29-30 (G.P)
Atra Rāmāyane . saṅgacchate / yatha—'aiṅgudam . . . pitṛdevatāh //
(the same as the quot. on pp 451-2 of Śr. K. K)

16 p. 124=II. 111. 32-3 (Bl), II, 116. 32-3 (N W.), II 103 26-7 (G P.)
'Pragṛhya maddattam upatiṣṭhtām' / iti Rāmāyane /
(partly the same as the quot. on p. 372 of Śr. K. K)

17. p. 126=II. 111. 29, 30ab, 31 (Bl), II 116. 29, 30ab, 31 (N.W), II. 103 23, 24ab, 25 (G.P)
'Sumantras tair nṛpasutaih ... caitad bhavanniti' / *iti* Rāmāyane ... *punas tarpana*-darśanācca / (5 lines)

S K R

18 p 167=II 86 2cd, 3a, 3d (Bl), II 90 2cd, 3a, 3d (N W), II 77 2cd, 3a, 3d (G P)

Tataśca—'mahārhāṇi   rāññas tasaurdhvadehike / ityādi Rāmāyaṇoktavat /

(the same as the quot on p 96 of D K K and part of those on p 39 of D K K and on pp 384 5 of Śr K K)

7 *Rājadharmakaustubha* (R D K)

R D K R

19 p 234   =II 2 25 6 (Bl), II 5 25 6 (N W), II 3 39cd, 40, 41ab (G P)

'Ādiṣṭo hyasi   yauvarājyam abhīpsasi iti Rāmāyaṇe Śrī Rāmam prati Daśarathoktes ca /

(R omits the 1st line)

20 p 235=II 2 2cd (Bl), II 5 2cd (N W), II 3 2cd (G P)

'Janmajyeṣṭham priyam putram yauvarājye yadīpsatha' iti Rāmāyaṇe janmajyeṣṭha-(tva) syaiva hetutvena kīrtanāt /

21 p 248=II 4 17 20 (N W)—Rāmāyaṇe pi—'dharmātmā satyavādī dūrapātī dṛḍhāyudhaḥ' //

22 pp 330 33=II. 12 3cd, 5 12 (Bl), II 16 2cd, 3cd, 4ab, 5-15 (N W) II 15 5cd, 6a, 12b-f (G P)

Śrīrāmāyaṇe—'Śanais tasmin   priyamvadā // iti (27 verses)

II 5 1-4, 9ab (Bl), II 8 1-4, 9ab (N W), II 6 1-4, 9ab (G P)

Tathā—'gate purohite   vidhivajjanaḥ' // (5 verses)

(R omits the last line)

(b) The unidentified ones

1 *Dānasāgara*

D S R

1 p 11=   —Śrīrāmāyaṇe—'Brāhmaṇā hi mahātmānaḥ   Brāhmaṇāḥ Brahmavādinaḥ' //

'Devāḥ putrabhavārthāya   bhūmidevā dvijātayaḥ' // (2 verses)

2 *Gṛhastharatnākara* (Gṛ R)

Gṛ R R

2. p 433=   —Rāmāyaṇe—'ye (yo ?) durbalam   pāpam prayāsyati' // (2 verses)

3 *Vivādaratnākara* (V R)

V R R

3 p. 414=   —Rāmāyaṇe—'naivāṅganānām   gahanajā iva' // (one verse)

Gr R Yogi yāj

12 p 223=6/1 and 4—Tatra Yogi yājñavalkyah—'atahparam pravaksyami antyajanmagato' pi san'//

13 p 225=6/11 and 25a—Yogi yajñavalkyah—'hrāsavrddhi nodite ravau'//

14 pp 225 7=6/5 6, 9, 10 b, 12 19a 20-21—Yogi-yajñavalkyah—Onkāram sandhirucyate'//

15 pp 227 30=6/25b-30, 1/27 (cf 4/2a and 3b)—Punar Yogi yajñavalkyah—'sandhyā trayantu viśesatah' //

16 p 236=6/2 and 8—Yogi yajñavalkyah—'sandhyā yena ninditah //

17 pp 237 8=8/22 25—Tad uktam Yogi yājñavalkyena—nasikākrsta pāpanāśanam' //

18 p 238=cf 8/9—Punar Yogi yajñavalkyah—puraka kumbhaka recakaih pranāyāmas trilaksano jñeyah /

19 p 240=8/46—Yogi yajñavalkyah—'pranatrayāyamanam smrtam //

20 p 243=7/140—'dhyayeta manasā naiva prakaśayet iti Yogi yājñavalkyoktam māna sajapa visayam mantavyam /

21 pp 243 4=7/131 2, 147 and 149—Yogi yajñavalkyah—na cankraman na upa dharmo nya ucyate // (partly identified)

22 p 263=7/87b—Yogi yājñavalkyah—savarnebhyo jalam deyam nānyavarne kadācana' /

23 p 268=7/40-41—Yogi yājñavalkyah—yāva ddevān maharsibhih' //
(The same as the 11th quot above)

24 p 268=7/44 and 46—Yogi yajñavalkyah—vastranipiditam suvistaram //

Appendix (c)—*Quotations from the Visnudharmottara* (V D)

[N B —As quotations from the V D occur in almost all the chapters of the D S, edited by the present writer, so they have not been listed by him in the Index to the same work but identified by him in the body of the book as also those in the works of Raghunandana have already been described listed and identified in his monograph on the same (pp 23-4 and pp 141 54) so both the kinds have been omitted from this Appendix]

1 *Hāralatā*

H L V D

1 p 19=II 142 16b-17a—Yathā ca Visnudharmottare Mārkandeyah—acchinnanādyām narādhipa //

2 p 29=II 52 56—Visnudharmottare Mārkandeyah—sū ikāvāsanilayā tathā babh' //
(V D reads the last two lines only and omits the first three ones)

3 p 29=II 52 5"—Tad yatha—purusā sūtikāh //

2 *Adbhutasāgara* (A S)

A S V D

1 p 5=II 134 5—Matsyapurān —Visnudharmottarayoh—'purusāpacārā mupasargah pravartat* //

A S V D

2 p 6—II 134-6a—Matsyapurāna—Visnudharmottarayoh—'divyāntariksam bhimam tadapi kirtitam' /

3 p 6—II 134 9b-10b— bhaumam cālpaphalam śighrakāri tathaiva ca' /

4 p 9—II 134 13—*Matsyapurāna—Visnudharmottarayośca—'rājñah śarīre kosavā hane'* /

5 p 71—II *166—prose matter—Visnudharmottare' pyuparāgamātravarnaphalam* uktam / Tad yathā—'uparāge śvetaraktah pidākaro bhavati /

6 p 9c—II *166—prose matter—Visnudharmottare—'atha yasmin naksatre bhaumodayam*—agrajīvinaś ca pīdyante /

7 p *98—II 166—prose* matter—Athāśrumukham *Visnudharmottare— daśam yaikādasa* marakakārakam' /

8 p *99—II 166—prose matter—Atha* vyālam *Visnudharmottare—'trayodaśa* vyāla vrddhikaram' /

9 p *99—II 166*—prose matter Atha *lohitamukham Visnudharmottare—'pañcadaśa* saṅgrāmakārakam /

10 p *100—II 166—prose matter—Athāsimuśalam Visnudharmottare* saptadaśā caura prābalyakaram /

11 p *111—II 166—prose matter*—Atha *rāśiphalam* Visnudharmottare—'jivastrayodaśa anyathā kastaphalah '

3 *Krtyaratnākara*

K R	V D		
1	p 62—III 287 8 12	Visnudharmottare—'durvahomah	mantra devatam' //
2	pp 129 30—III 319 26 37	,	'dvādaśyām caitraśuklasya jñeyam anantam dvijasattamāh' //
3	p 14C—III 319 2a 3a	,,	samprapya caitramāsasya saubhāgyam mahad āpnuyāt //
4	p 145—III 319 38a	,	'mesasankramane mahāphalam' //
5	p 149—III 317 11a	,,	'apupānām svargam aśnute' //
6	p 154— II 317 31b 32b	,	vaiśakha śuklapakse mahaphalam //
7	p 161— II 319 27a	,,	'vaiśakha śukladvadasyām tathaiva ca //
8	p 193—III 319 8	,,	'sopavāsa sukhi bhavet //
9	p 197— II *317 11c*	,	*dattva dhruvam asaute'* //
10	p 209—III 319 28		'svastirnam mahiyate // (part of the 2nd quot. above)
11	p 21 —III 319 9a	,	'āsādhyām annadānena naro bahu //
12	p 221—III *317 12a*	,,	*śrāvane vastradanasya* sumahat phalam //

	K. R	V. D		
13	pp 248 9—III 319 9b and III. 309 1-15		Visnudharmottare	'jaladhenupradānena lokahitam praśastam' //
14	p 256 =	III, 317 12b	„	'prausthapadye phānitasya ca' //
15	p 286	III 317 34	„	'māsi bhādrapade punyam avāpnuyāt'//
16	pp 291-2	III 319 29b, 34b and 37	„	'godaḥ jñeyam anantam dvijasattamāh' // (part of the 2nd quot above)
17	p 301	III. 319 10a	„	'godānañca prausthapade mahāphalam'//
18	p 308	„ 317 13a	„	'aśvine rupavan abhijāyate' //
19	p 375	„ 319 30a	,	'prīnayedaśva tathāśvine' //
20.	p 396	„ 319 10b 11a and 24b 25b	„	'āśvayujyām phalam aksayyam aśnute'//
21	p 404	„ 317 13b	„	'karttike sarvatraujasyam āpnuyāt' //
22	*p 425*	„ *319 31a*	„	'*saromavastra divam āpnuyāt' // (part* of the 2nd quot above where 'vastram' is read for 'divam ')
23	*pp 437-8*	*III 319* 11b 14a	,	karttikyām rupavān abhijāyate' // (V D omits the last two lines)
24	p 444	III 317 14a	„	lavanam saubhagyam aśnute' //
25	p 473	„ 319 14b 17a	„	mārgaśīrse bhavati manavaḥ' //
26	p 474	, 317 14b 15b Tatra	„	'pause mahāphalam'//
27	p. 482	„ 319 32a	,	'dhanyānañca tathā pausa' iti // (part of the 2nd quot above)
28	pp 485 6	III 319 17b 21b	„	'gaur sarsapa pustim apnotyanuttamām' //
29	p 487	III 317 9b	„	'tilapradānān māghe tu yāmyam lokam na gacchati' // (V D reads 'prāpya lokam sa etc)
30	p 488	, 317 6-7		'vahiḥ snānam śatrunaśañca vindati'// (V D reads 'vahnidānam' for 'vahiḥ snanam)
31	p 512	, 319 22a	„	'māghyām pramucyate' //
32	p 516	, 317 10a	„	'priyangum bhavati bhūtale' //
33	p 519	„ 317 33	„	'māghe śravanena tu' //
34	p 530	„ *319* 22b-24a	„	'āstirnam vicāranā'

K R V D

35 pp 553-55 = III
317 20a-27a Visnudharmottare—'kirttikāsu rūpam āpnotyanuttamam'
(V D omits the last two verses)

36 pp 563 66 — III 306 62b, 64a,
, 311 10-11, 23a 25a, III 315 8a, III 316 12b 14b,
„ 341 60a and 79b 80a Visnudharmottare 'masta—ripunāśam avāpnuyāt

37 pp 574 85 306 61a-62a
, 312 5b 6a,
, 341 48 201a „ 'visnorāyatane dattvā sukhī bhavet'
(V D omits the last line only of this long collection of verses)

4 *Varsakriyakaumudi* (V K K)

V K K V D

1 p 8 = I 60 26b 27a
'Upositavyam śaśinā saha' iti Visnudharma (°dharmottara ?) vacanāt /

2 p 16 I 60 24a 26a
'Naksatram yasyāstamito ravih iti Visnudharmottare (V D omits the 5th 6th and 8th lines)

3 p 224 I 72 13b 16a
Yathā Visnudharmottare—candramāh māsa ucyate /

4 p 227 I 72 19b 20a 21
Saurenābdastu bhrgunandana iti Visnudharmottaravacanācca

5 p 259 III 319 38b
Visnudharme (°dharmottare ?) Vrsasaṅkramane mahāphalam /

6 p 289 cf III 319 28
Visnudharmottare āstirnaśayanam mahīyate' /

7 p 302 I 60 26b 27a
Tatha *Visnudharmottare Upositavyam śaśinā saha*
(The same as the 1st quot above)

8 p 344 I 142 19-20
Tatha Visnudharmottare 'Uttarā tato pyati

9 p 347 I 72 16b and 21 I 142 20b
Yathā Visnudharme (Visnudharmottare?) tithinaikena prakīrtitah' Ata eva 'saura bhrgunandana ityadayah prayogāh / Ata eva pañcamyurddhvañca tato pyati iti Visnudharme (Visnudharmottare ?) vyavasthoktā.
(It is partly the same as the 4th quot above and the last line is only the same as the last line of the 8th quot above)

V K K V D

10 p 351 = I 142. 20 and 20b
Ata eva Visnudharme (Visnudharmottare ?) 'praustbapadyāh tato pyati ityuktam
Ata eva Visnudharme (Visnudharmottare ?) pañcamyurddhvañca tato pyati iti
(The same as the 2nd verse of the 8th quot above)

11 p 451 I 142 26b-27a and 2b 3a
Visnudharmottare Vrīhipāke ca prajāpatih / (V D omits the last line)

12 p 482 317 14a
Visnudharme (Visnudharmottare ?) 'lavanam saubhāgyam āpnuāt' /
(The same as the quot on p 444 of K R)

13 p 488 III 317 14b-15a
Tatha (= Visnudharmottare) 'pause laksmikaram smrtam /
(Part of the quot on p 474 of K R)

14 p 488 I 142 3b
Visnudharme (Visnudharmottare ?) 'Āgrahāyanyam n tyaśah /
(V D omits the 2nd line of the above verse)

15 p 544 II 52 56
Tatha ca Visnudharme (Visnudharmottare ?) sutikāvasanilayā balih /
(The same as the 2nd quot of H L p 29 V D reads the last two lines only and omits the first three ones)

5 *Danakriyakaumudi* (D K K)

D K K V D

1 pp 5 6 = III 301 14b 26a
Kapilapañcaratre (= Visnudharmottare) abhayam mauttānāngirasam smṛtam /

2 p 7 *III 301 27b-28a*
Visnudharmottare— grhantu visnudaivatam /

3 pp 7 8 III 301 28b 36b 11b cf 40b and cf 44a
Visnudharmottare— umeh durganyasau dvijah /

4 p 12 III 301 10a
Visnudharmottare— dravyasya nama viuhir ayam smrtah' /
(V D omits the 1st line of the above verse)

5 p 46 III 313 4a
dattvā mahiyate iti *Visnudharma* (*°dharmottara* —vacanāt /

6 p 47 III 311 23b
Visnudharme (°dharmottare ?)— tāmbulasya pradānena vindati /

7 III 311 1a
Visnudharmottare—'narastvāsanadanena vindati /

8 p 48 III 311 19a
Visnudharmottare— naraścandanadanena pramucyate /

D. K. K.	V. D.
9. p. 49 =	III. 316 22b Visnudharme (°dharmottare ?)—'phalam . . labhet' /
10. p. 66	III. 312. 1 and 2a Viṣnudharmottare—'nṛvāhyam .. dvijasattamāḥ' / . Tatraiva śivikādāne 'śivikāyāḥ . labhet' /
11. p. 73	III 305. 21b-23a Visnudharmottare 'dhanadhānyayutam . pārthivo bhavet' /
12. p. 74	III 305 20b Kevalagṛhadāne Visnudharmottare—'brāhmaṇāya gṛham lokam aśnute' /
13. p. 91	I. 147. 1a-3a Tathā ca ,, 'aśvayuk ... vācaret' /

6 *Śrāddhakriyākaumudī* (Śr. K. K)

Śr K. K.	V. D.
1. p 256	I 142. 3b Atra 'Āgrahāyanyām . tathā' iti Viṣnudharmottaravacanāt / (The same as the 1st line of the 14th quot. of V. K. K.
2. pp.259 60	I. 142. 26b 27a and 2b 3a Yathā Visnudharmottare—'Vrīhipāke ca prajāpatih' / *(The same as the 11th quot. of V. K K V. D. omits the last line)*
3. p 262	I. 142 27a Kecid ... nāstyeva 'na tāvādyau . kathañcan' iti Visnudharma (°dharmottara ?)—*vacanād ityāhuh* / (The same as the 2nd line of the previous quot.)
4. p. 272	I 142. 3a *Na ca Visnudharmottare—'praustbapadyām prajāpatih' iti . vācyam/* (The same as the last two lines of the 2nd quot. above)
5. pp. 277-8	I 142 19a-21a and 22 Yattu 'uttarā kārayet' / iti Visnudharmottaravacanam (Partly the same as the 8th quot of V. K. K.)
6 p 281	I. 142 19 20 Tatr ā ca Visnudharmottare—'*Uttarā* tato'pyati' / (The same as the 8th quot. V. K. K.)
7. pp. 284 5	I. 72 16b-17a and 21 , I 142. 20b Yathā Visnudharmottare— tithinaikena smṛtah' // 'saura bhṛgunandana' / ityādayah prayogāḥ / Ata eva 'pañcamyūrddhvañca tato'pyati' iti Visnudharmottare vyavasthoktā / (Partly the same as the *9th* quot. of V. K. K.)

Sr K K V D

8 p 287 = I 142 20

Ata eva Visnudharmottare—'prausthapadyāh tato'pyati' ityuktam /
(Part of the 6th quot above)

9 p. 287 I 142 20b

Ata eva Visnudharmottare—Prakaranabhedena 'pañcamyūrddhvañca tato'pyati ti madhye noktam / (Part of the 8th quot above)

10 p 316 I 60 24a 26a

'naksatram yasyāstamito ravih' iti Visnudharmottare /
(V D omits the 5th 6th and 8th lines The same as the 2nd quot. of V K K.)

11 p 341 I 72 16b

'tithinaikena prakīrtitah iti Visnudharma (Visnudharmottara ?)—vacanāt / (Part of the 9th quot of V K K and of the 7th quot of Śr K K)

12 p 343 I 72 16b

Yathā Visnudharme (°dharmottare ?)— tithinaikena prakirtitah /
(The same as the previous quot)

13 p 349 II 77 8b

Visnudharme (°dharmottare ?)—'madhye tatah /

7 *Śuddhikaumudī* (Ś K)

Ś K V D

1 p 11 = I 142 16b 17a

Yathā ca Visnudharmottare— acchinnanādyām narādhipa /
(The same as the 1st quot of H L)

2. p 184 I 142 26b 27a

Vrihipāke ca kathañcana iti Visnudharmottaravihitasya /
(The same as the 1st two lines of the 11th quot of V K. K)

3 pp 237 8 I 72. 19b 20a and 21

'Saurenābdastu bhrgunandana ityādi Viṣnudharmottaravacanācca /
(The same as the 4th quot of V K K)

4 p 241 I 72 26

Tathā Visnudharmottare—udagayanañca vyavahārakarma /

5 p 245 II 77 9b-10a

samvatsarasya varsiki iti Visṇudharmottaravacanāt /
(V D reads the 2nd line as tato dvādaśake śrāddhe karyam tad adhi māsakam)

6 p 247 I 72 27b

Yathā Visnudharmottare—'naksatrasatra bhaganātmakena /

S K V D

7 pp. 251 2 – I 72 14a 16a
Yathā Visnudharmottare— sannikarsa māsa ucyate /
(Part of the 3rd quot of V K K)

8 p 266 I 72 22a 23a
Ata eva Viṣnudharmottare— samādvaye garhitah' /

9 p 292 II 77 9b 10a
Nanu Visnudharmottare— samvatsarasya vārsikī /
(The same as the 5th quot above)

10 p 293 II 77 8b
Visnudharmottare— madhye tatah /
(The same as the 13th quot in Śr K K)

8 *Rājadharmakaustubha*

R D K V D

1 pp 111 125=II 26 1 8 11a 15a 20a 27b 28b and 88
Rājanivāsasthānañcoktam Visn dharmottare— rāja v sayamāvaset // Visnudharmottare — durgañca sadaiva / Visnudharmottare pi 'tatra durgam budhah / etasya prāśastyamuktam Visnudharmottare— sarvesām eva praśasyate / Visnudharmottare— vithyagre vigarhitā //

2 pp 126 7 II 14 and II 4 19b 22
Visnudharmottare — bhadrāsanam m yā /

3 pp 237 8 II 18
Visnudharmottare— iti sambhrtasambhāro kulikastathā /

4 pp 239-40 II 19 1a
Tatra Visnudharmottare abhis kaprakaran — karyā ku dvaha /
(*V D reads the first l ne only and om ts the last 15 l nes.*)

5 pp 243 5 II 3 and II 150
Visnudharmottare Puskara uvāca — sarvadarśanalaksanyo madīna sattvah /

6 pp 249 50 II 7
Atra evam gunaganopetā laksitā iti Visnudharmottarādivacanaih Visnudharmottare Puskara uvāca — *rājña vicāryam asti* /

7 pp 251 3 II 6
sa rajñah bhrgukulodvaha iti vacanena tallaksanam abhidhīyate / Visnudharmottare— sarval ksanalaksanyo bhuvanatraye pi /

8 pp 256-7 II 5
(Visnudharmottare) Puskara uvāc — avyanga purodhāh /

	R D K	V D
9	pp 258 63 =	II 4 4-15a and 17b 23 Atha 'sāmvatsaram sucih' iti Visnudharmottarena tallaksanam ucyate / Visnudharmottare Pus.ara uvac.—sarvalaksanalaksanyam viśāradam' / bhutabhavya prayatnatah' / (V D omits the 2nd line of the 2nd verse on p 258 viz triskandha pāragam' /)
10	pp 318 26	II 19 21 and II 14 Visnudharmottaram tāvallikhyate—'prapte bhisekadivāse bandha nam' / Visnudharmottare—'tatah sambaddahmukutah suvrata' / Visnudharmottare bhihitam— nanga a ambhanam vidadhyāt' /
11	pp 346 63	II 22. Tathā ca Visnudharmottare Śrirāma uvāc.—'mantrena nidhanāya ca' / (V D omits the last two of the above 179 coronation ceremony verses)
12	pp 364 5	II 23 Atha Visnudharmotttare uktah / Puskara uvāca—'mantra ye saritáśca Rama' /
13	p 378	II 152 1 3 Atha Visnudharmottare Puskara uvāca— rājatu naradhipaih /
14	p 379	II 162 Visnudharmottare Rāma uvac — samvatsarabhisekañca rājyavi-vrddhidañca /